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EDITED BY

CHARLES WHIBLEY

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SALLUST

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE AND THE WAR OF JUGURTHA

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD

ANNO 1608

With an Introduction by

CHARLES WHIBLEY

Caius Sallustius Crispus

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English

INTRODUCTION

THOMAS HEYWOOD was a true Elizabethan. He could fit his hand to any enterprise. Within the limits of the literary craft nothing came amiss to him. As he had an equal aptitude for prose or verse, so few, if any, of his contemporaries excelled him in industry. And he was a true child of his age in concealing from his own century and ours who he was and what he did. We know not where he was born nor when he died. A dark veil separates him and us, and it is only by accident that he helps us to draw aside a corner of it. We have his word for it that he was a Lincolnshire man. You may find in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* (1637) a 'Funerall Elegy upon the death of the thrice noble Gentleman, Sir George Saint Poole of Lincolne-shire, my Country-man.' One or two of his dedications suggest that he was gently born and bred. He inscribes his *English Traveller* to Sir Henry Appleton, Knight Baronet, etc. 'For many 'reasons,' he says, 'I am induced to present this Poem to 'your favourable acceptance; and not the least of them 'that alternate love and those frequent courtesies which 'interchangeably past betwixt your selfe and that good old 'gentleman, mine unkle (Master Edmund Heywood), whom

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'you pleased to grace by the name of father: I must con-
'fesse I had altogether slept (my weakliness and bashfulness
'discouraging mee) had they not bin wakened and animated
'by that worthy gentleman and your friend and my countrey-
'man, Sir William Elvish, whom (for his unmerited love
'many wayes extended toward me) I much honour.'

Though it is clear that Sir Henry Appleton and Sir William Elvish were among his early associates, he does not tell us either why the one called his uncle 'father,' or how the other helped him to overcome his weakly and bashful spirit. He was educated at Cambridge—he speaks in his *Apology* of 'the time of his residence at Cambridge'—and possibly at Peterhouse, to which, as in duty bound, he sends Sencer, a conceited gentleman—'I, Sir, was at Peeterhouse'[1]—though we have nothing but William Cartwright's word for it that he was a fellow of that ancient college. What is certain is that as early as 1596 Henslowe paid thirty shillings for 'Hawode's booke,' and refrained from giving us its title. That he commenced actor and author about the same time may be taken for granted. At any rate he was engaged in 1598 by Henslowe as a player, and was a sharer in the Company. So long as Elizabeth was on the throne, he was enrolled among the Lord Admiral's Men, and became a theatrical servant of the Earl of Worcester on the accession of James I. To the debt he owes to the Earl of Worcester he refers in his dedication of his Γυναικειον, *or Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women* (1624). 'I was (my Lord) your creature,' he writes, 'and (amongst other of your servants)

[1] *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, Act iv. Scene i.

'you bestowed me upon the excellent Princesse, Q. Anne, 'to whose memorie I have celebrated in these Papers the 'zeale of a subject and a servant.' He ascribes it to 'the 'shifting and change of companies' that many of his plays had been 'negligently lost.'[1] And strange as we may think it to-day, he seems to have regarded Heywood the Actor more seriously than Heywood the Dramatist.

The fertility of his invention is truly amazing. He confesses, in a preface to *The English Traveller*, that that tragicomedy was but 'one amongst the two hundred and twenty, in 'which I have had either an entire hand, or at least a maine 'finger.' And so lightly did he esteem his plays that he printed none of them except as an act of self-protection. It was 'never any great ambition in mee,' says he, 'to bee in 'this kind voluminously read.' Though he admits the objection of the actors, who thought it 'against their 'peculiar profit to have the plays come into print,' it was rather for his own sake that he kept his works from the press. 'Some have used a double sale of their labours,' he wrote in a preface to *The Rape of Lucrece*, 'first to the 'stage, and after to the Presse; for my owne part I here 'proclaime my selfe ever faithfull to the first, and never guilty 'of the last.' Never is too strong a word. He was, indeed, often guilty of the last, but not without a good reason. Like other dramatists of his time, he saw his work mangled and mutilated by hungry pirates, and he issued many of his dramas as an act of defence against them. Would that he had issued more! To this danger of piracy, which constantly threatened the dramatists of his time, he recurs

[1] See the address to the reader in *The English Traveller*.

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with a constant bitterness. In the Prologue to *If You know not Me, You know Nobody*, he makes a vigorous protest. The play, he says,

> ' Did throng the Seats, the Boxes, and the Stage
> So much, that some by Stenography drew
> The plot : put it in print : (scarce one word trew :)
> And in that lamenesse it hath limp't so long,
> The Author now to vindicate that wrong
> Hath took the paines, upright upon its feete
> To teach it walke, so please you sit, and see't.'

Even when, in self-protection, he was driven to print his plays, he did it quietly. He did not come forth, as did Ben Jonson, with a stately folio. Thus he addresses the reader in *The Fair Maid of the West* : ' Courteous Reader, ' my Plaies have not beene exposed to the publike view of ' the world in numerous sheets, and a larger volume ; but ' singly (as thou seest) with great modesty and small noise.' [1]

Heywood speaks of his modesty, and Charles Lamb echoes the word. ' Posterity,' says he, ' is bound to take care ' that a Writer loses nothing by such a noble modesty.' Posterity has done its best to recover the plays, which were exposed in the theatre to all the risks of time and chance. Truly the critics have fought a gallant fight for the dramatists against oblivion. And the dramatists did all they could, by neglect, to make recovery difficult. For never in the history of letters did men of genius hold their fame in so careless a hand. It was enough for them that their plays should be heard upon the stage. What happened

[1] This no doubt is a hit at Ben Jonson, who in the same year (1631) published a second folio.

in the future was no concern of theirs. In other kinds of literature they were far more scrupulous. Learned translations in folio, encyclopædic histories, books of verse were piously guarded and esteemed by their authors. When Jaggard, in the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, inserted two poems of Heywood's, and ascribed them boldly to Shakespeare, Heywood was properly incensed against the wrong done to Shakespeare, who, 'I know,' said he, 'was much offended with Mr. Jaggard that altogether 'unknown to him I presumed to make so bold with his 'name.' But they tossed their plays away into the theatre with a prodigal hand, and sought not to know what became of them. The drama was the journalism of the moment; and what a moment, to boast such a journalism as that! Perhaps they valued their plays no higher than did they who bought them. Truly the poor dramatists were paid little enough. It makes no difference that the Company was the purchaser. What matters is that Heywood received a poor £6 for *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, and the paltriness of the sum is emphasised by the entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, on the 5th of February 1602, that there was paid unto Thomas Heywood 'for a womones goune of black velvett 'for the playe of a womon kylled with kyndnes the some 'of £6, 13.' When a play is worth less than a gown, the author is not likely to exaggerate its importance.

The position of the actor was better assured, and when Heywood wrote his *Apology for Actors*, he went to the defence of them and their craft with zeal and energy. After his wont, he disclaimed any desire to be contentious. 'I am,' said he, 'profest adversary to no one: I rather

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'covet reconcilement than opposition, nor proceedes this 'my labour from any envy in me, but rather to shew them 'wherein they erre.' Such was ever his kindly attitude towards the world, and what he said was amply justified, because in 1612, when he wrote, there was no active controversy afoot between the theatres and the Puritans. He was able, therefore, to defend the theatre as a place of pleasant resort, where the best lessons might be taught and learnt, without turning his mind aside to contemplate the venom of an attack. 'A description is only a shadow,' he 'wrote, received by the eare, but not perceived by the eye; 'so lively portrature is meerely a forme seene by the eye, 'but can neither shew action, passion, motion, or any other 'gesture to moove the spirits of the beholder to admiration: 'but to see a souldier shap'd like a souldier, walke, speake, 'act like a souldier, to see a Hector all besmered in blood, 'trampling on the bulkes of kinges; a Troilus returning 'from the field, in the sight of his father Priam, as if man and 'horse, even from the steed's rough fetlockes to the plume 'on the champion's helmet, had bene together plunged into 'a purple ocean: to see a Pompey ride in triumph, then a 'Caesar conquer that Pompey; labouring Hannibal alive 'hewing his passage through the Alpes . . . Oh, these were 'sights to make an Alexander!' Perhaps if we could ensure such sights upon the stage, we might make Alexanders. But none can deny that Heywood's argument is amusing, and that his expression of it is vigorous and alive.

And then he turns to our domestic histories, and sees the stage as, what he most wished it to be, a school of patriotism. 'What English blood,' he asks, 'seeing the person

'of any bold Englishman presented, and doth not hugge 'his fame, and hunnye at his valor, pursuing him in his 'enterprise with his best wishes, and as beeing wrapt in 'contemplation, offers to him in his hart all prosperous 'performance, as if the personator was the man personated.' So Heywood, from the spectator's point of view, assigning to the actor the virtue and courage of him whom he represents, asks: 'What coward, to see his countryman valiant, 'would not be ashamed of his owne cowardice?' And then he recalls the true portraiture of King Edward III. foraging France, and invokes the martial spirit of Henry V.

While Heywood sees in the theatre a school of valour, Gosson finds it but the nursery of all the vices. 'Playes 'are the invention of the devil,' he says, 'the offrings of 'idolatrie, the pompe of worldlinges, the blossomes of 'vanitie, the roote of Apostacy, the food of iniquitie, ryot, 'and adulterie, detest them.' Gosson spoke with the violence of the convert, and Heywood had the best of it. Nor was Heywood content to appeal to the good example set upon the stage. He called Antiquity into the box, and let it give what evidence it could. 'In the full and perfect 'time our Saviour sojourned on the earth,' thus he wrote, greatly daring, 'even in those happy and peacefull dayes, 'the spacious theaters were in the greatest opinion among 'the Romans; yet neither Christ himselfe, nor any of his 'sanctified apostles, in any of their sermons, acts, or docu-'ments, so much as named them, or upon any abusive 'occasion touched them.' A hazardous argument, truly, which recalls the preference expressed by the Prison Ordinary in *Jonathan Wild* for punch, 'because it is nowhere

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'spoken against in Scripture.' If he find any one in the past who was an enemy of the theatre, Heywood straightway denounces him; and he falls with peculiar ferocity upon the sainted Marcus Aurelius, a great and sharp reprover, who hated women because Faustine played him false, who suppressed the stage because the scornful women of Rome made a play about him. 'But,' asked Heywood, 'what 'profited this the weale publicke? Do but peruse the 'ancient Roman Chronicles, and you shall undoubtedly 'finde that from the time of this precise Emperour, that 'stately city, whose lofty buildings crowned seven high 'hils at once, and over-peered them all, streight way began 'to hang the head.'

To the example of antiquity he added man's just and natural desire of enjoyment. 'God made us of earth, men; 'knowes our natures, dispositions, and imperfections, and 'therefore hath limited us a time to rejoyce, as he hath en-'joyned us a time to mourne for our transgressions; and 'I hold them more scrupulous than well advised, that go 'about to take from us the use of all moderate recreations.' Heywood, in his treatise, spoke with authority and not as the Puritans. He was an actor himself, and he celebrates with eloquence the prowess of the old actors. He had known Tarleton and Wil. Kemp, men, 'as wel in the favour 'of her majesty as in the opinion and good thoughts of 'the generall audience.' With characteristic generosity he praises one who was still his friend. 'Among so many 'dead,' says he, 'let me not forget one yet alive, in his 'time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Allen.' And all the while he kept a high standard for his fellow-

craftsmen. They should not come haphazard on the stage. Either they should be scholars, that, though they cannot speak well, know how to speak, or they should have that volubility which knows how to speak, though it understands not what it speaks. It is easy to see to which class Heywood himself belonged, but upon one or the other quality he sternly insisted. 'Where a good tongue and a good con-'ceit both faile,' said he, 'there can never be a good 'actor.'

And as he would have actors well skilled upon the stage, so off the stage he would have them scrupulous in their lives. If he could have his way, they should not be 'rogues and vagabonds,' as they were commonly esteemed, but well-behaved artists. 'I could also wish,' says he in a passage which has the ring of sincerity, and which might have been written yesterday, 'that such as are condemned for their 'licentiousnesse, might by a generall consent bee quite 'excluded from our society; for, as we are men that stand 'in the broad eye of the world, so should our manners, 'gestures, and behaviours, savour of such government and 'modesty, to deserve the good thoughts and reports of all 'men, and to abide the sharpest censures even of those 'that are the greatest opposites of the quality. Many 'amongst us I know to be'—and who had a better right to speak than he?—'of substance, of government, of sober 'lives, and temperate carriages, house-keepers, and con-'tributory to all duties enjoyned them, equally with them 'that are rank't with the most bountifull; and if amongst 'so many of sort, there be any few degenerate from the 'rest in that good demeanour which is both requisite and

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'expected at their hands, let me entreat you not to censure 'hardly of all for the misdeeds of some.' Never has a more generous and wise apology been made for the actors, and not only does it do vast credit to Heywood's loyalty, but it shows, from the decencies which he exacted from others, what were his own character and ambition.

Thence he comes to the true use of actors, quoting Cicero's admirable aphorism that comedy is the imitation of life, the glass of custom, and the image of truth, and concludes that there is no form of drama—tragedy, history, comedy, moral or pastoral—from which an infinite service cannot be gathered. 'Playing,' he finds, 'is an ornament to the citty,' which strangers of all nations wonder at; it is also a constant refinement to our tongue; nor can there be any more doubt, he thinks, that tragedy touches the consciences of the spectators than that comedy adds to their stock of harmless mirth. The theatre, in brief, never had a more loyal, more sincere champion than Thomas Heywood, and the ingenuousness of his plea, based on his own long experience, adds enormously to its weight.

To the poets of his time—and we may assume from what he wrote of them that he knew the most of them—he pays a humble tribute. With a certain modesty he tells us, in the dedication of his *Γυναικειον*, that he has been 'much and long conversant among the poets,' and it is certain that his own good humour saved him from any quarrel with the most irritable of an irritable race. Ben Jonson, who scorned all his kind, when he talked at Hawthornden over the Rhenish, has no ill word to say of Heywood. Nor is it easy to see how Heywood could have found an enemy

among the poets, since he speaks of their craft with awe, of themselves with a kindly familiarity. In a treatise, *Of Poetrie*, which may be found in his Γυναικειον, he attributes to the poets arts, laws, virtues, civil government, and even industry. 'These and much greater,' says he, 'were 'the first fruits of Poetrie, now in this age so much despised, 'the use whereof was antient, the apprehension divine, 'the practise commendable, and the name reverent.' The wonder is that he should have found poetry despised in his own time. Posterity has made such amends as it could. For his part, he cared nothing for posterity, as he said clearly in his *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells* :—

> 'None with fresh Violets my Ashes grace,
> Or strow sweet fragrant Roses in the place.
> If any loves me, and intends to give,
> I wish to taste his bounty whilest I live.
> What care I, when the Fates my Thread have spun,
> Though Briers and Thornes my Grave shall over-run ? '

Yet surely even he does not despise in the shades the fragrant roses of admiration which Charles Lamb has strewn upon him.

But while he lived, and they, he loved the poets with a constant heart. He thought and spoke of them familiarly, as we think and speak of friends. He made a happy jest of their curtailed names. 'We scarcely can afford them,' said he, 'half their names.' So with a pleasant conceit he named them all :—

> 'Marlo, renowned for his rare art and wit,
> Could ne'er attaine beyond the name of Kit.
> . . . . . .

> Mellifluous Shake-speare, whose enchanting Quill
> Commanded mirth or passion, was but Will.
> And famous Johnson, though his learned pen
> Be dipp'd in Castaly, is still but Ben.'

Nor did he think that they, who were known by their short names, were less worthy than the rest. He took the simple address as a mark of friendship, and wished no better fortune for himself than he gave to them. 'I for my part,' said he,

> '(Thinke others what they please) accept that heart
> Which courts my love in most familiar phrase;
> And that it takes not from my paines or praise.
> If any one to me so bluntly com,
> I hold he loves me best who calls me Tom.'

And as Tom Heywood he goes, a kindly, gracious figure, down the ages.

The familiar friendship in which he holds the poets of his time persuades him to deplore their harsh destiny and his own. What he writes in the *Hierarchie* makes credible the legend that he himself had a hard fight for bread. Though Homer in his eighth Odyssey says that 'among all other men, Poets are most worthy to 'participate honour and reverence, because the Muses 'themselves teach them their songs, and are enamoured 'both of their profession and them,' Heywood cast his eyes about him, and saw how heavy was the fate which heretofore (as now) was impending over the Muses. And having sketched, in verse, the disastrous lives and deaths of the Poets from Homer to Petronius Arbiter (an odd choice), he relieves his soul by translating some of the

Sapphics of Johannes Campanius. Thus he describes the misery of his craft :—

'None that of antient Birth can boast,
Or in their Virtue glory most,
But that their memory is lost,
Without a Poet :

'And yet whilest others strut in gold,
He wears a garment thin and cold,
So torne, so thred-bare, and so old,
He shames to owne it.

'The Painter by his pensill eats ;
Musitions feed out of their frets ;
Nay ev'n the Labouring man that sweats,
Not one 'mongst twenty,

'But is with needful things supply'de :
Yet (as if Fate did them deride)
They poor and wretched still abide
In midst of plenty.'

So Heywood, we may take it, lived poor in the midst of plenty. And not even want availed to check his zeal. He boldly claimed for himself the title of poet, even when he wrote that piece of exquisite prose—*England's Elizabeth.* Nor did he claim it without warrant. Few songs of his time exceed in melody or beauty the song, 'Packe, clouds, away,' which he flung (so to say) into his *Rape of Lucrece.* That strange encyclopædic medley, from which I have already quoted, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells*, which in its anecdote and gatherings from ancient and mediæval literature dimly recalls *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, is interspersed with verses, original and translated, even in its 'observations.' Of the verse, which is its main

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fabric, we may say what Dr. Johnson said of Bentley's experiment in poetry, that it is the work of a man unaccustomed to write verse. The interludes in its prose are written with greater force and a livelier spirit. In a 'meditation' on 'The Powers,' he seems to anticipate Christopher Smart :—

'Within his glorious Temple Hee
Deserveth worship on the knee :
O kneele then at His sacred Shrine.
His voice is on the Waters great,
His glory thunders from his Seat ;
His Pow'r doth on the Waters shine.'

Is there not here a hint, at least, of the *Song of David*? Again, you will not find in the religious poetry of the seventeenth century a sincerer expression of piety than the following stanza, culled from another 'meditation' :—

'Great God imprint
The Seraphs Love into this Heart, scarce mine
Once flesh, now flint :
Stirre up an heate
In this my frozen breast, by Pow'r Divine,
I thee entreat ;
And never let thy grace from me remove,
Since Love is God, and thou my God art Love.'

And as poetry was the passion of his life, so he had written or meant to write the Lives of the Poets. After discoursing of them and their works in his *Hierarchie*, he suddenly pulls himself up. 'But I had almost forgot myself,' thus he writes, 'for in proceeding further, I might have forestalled 'a Worke, which hereafter (I hope) by God's assistance, to 'commit to the public view ; namely the Lives of all the 'Poets, Forreine and Moderne, from the first before Homer,

'to the *Novissimi* and last, of what Nation and Language 'soever; so farre as any Historie or Chronologie will give 'me a warrant.' Whether the book was written, or being written has been lost, we have no means of discovery. There is a vast deal of printed stuff that we would give in exchange for it. It would have contained the lives of Shakespeare and Webster, his friends, and of many others, between whom and us time has drawn a curtain. And we would that some skilled and zealous hand, such as that which recovered for us Heywood's *Captives*[1] and many another forgotten work, would reveal to our eyes this work of inestimable value.

The loyalty which Heywood showed to his fellow-actors and fellow-poets he gave freely to his Queen and to England. In a patriotic age, there was no loftier patriot than he. He was not ashamed to boast about the prowess of his country and his countrymen. He celebrates with pride the courage of the citizens of London, the valour of the bold adventurers who in his day were founding an empire across the sea. Above all, on many a generous page, he does honour to Elizabeth, our Queen. Of his little masterpiece, *England's Elizabeth*, wherein he extols the calm resolution with which she opposes the suspicious cruelty of her sister, and brings her life no further down than to her accession to the throne, I have already spoken. In his *Γυναικειον* he sings her praises in a chapter 'of Queenes illustrious,' amongst whom, says he, 'let me not be so unnatural to her merit, 'or so ingrateful to my countrey (thrice blest and divinelie

[1] The late A. H. Bullen discovered the manuscript of Heywood's *Captives* and printed it, among other works, for the first time.

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'happie in her most fortunate raigne) as not to remember 'that ever to be celebrated Princesse, Elizabeth of late 'memory, Queene of England: She that was a *Saba* for her 'wisdome, an *Harpalice* for her magnanimitie (witnesse the 'Campe at Tilburie), a *Cleopatra* for her beauty, a *Camilla* 'for her chastitie, an *Amalasuntha* for her temperance, a '*Zenobia* for her learning and skill in language; of whose 'omniscience, pantarite, and goodnesse, all men heretofore 'have spoke too little, no man hereafter can write too much: 'sacred be still her memorie to us on earth, as her blessed 'soul lives ever glorified in heaven.' The voice of eulogy can speak no louder than this, and every word of the eulogy is sincere.

So in *The Faire Maid of the West* he allows no rival near her throne of beauty. When Mullisheg says to the Faire Maid of the Queen: 'Hath she herself a face so faire as yours?' Besse resents the comparison with a proper humility. 'Mighty Fesse,' she answers,

> 'You cast a blush upon my maiden cheeke,
> To patterne me with her. Why, England's Queene,
> She is the onely Phoenix of her age,
> The Pride and Glory of the Western Isles:
> Had I a thousand tongues they all would tyre
> And faile me in her true description.'

And Heywood believed that her loyal subjects were worthy of her in spirit and in bravery. The words which he puts in the mouth of the Duke of Florence in the second part of *The Faire Maid of the West*, he might have well spoken himself:

> 'These bold Englishmen,
> I think, are all compos'd of spirit and fire;
> The element of earth had no part in them.'

Nor was he content that they should waste their days in sloth and cowardice. He would have them soldiers all, ready to fight for their Queen and Country. In the Epistle which precedes *The Four Prentices of London*, at its first printing (1615), he says of the play: 'Nor could it have 'found a more seasonable and fit publication that at this 'Time, when, to the glory of our Nation, the security of the 'Kingdome, and the Honour of this renowned Citty, they 'have begunne again the commendable practice of long 'forgotten Armes, the continuance of which I wish, the 'discipline approve, and the encouragement thereof even 'with my soule applaude.' He was no coward, who thought that our best chance of peace lay in pretending that we had forgotten how to fight. He put faith in the trained bands, and relied upon the courage of the bold prentices. And being a poet, who believed that the old is better, he sang the praise of archery, and in an age of artillery celebrated the achievements of the bow and arrow. 'For us,' wrote he,

> 'What forraigne Chronicles, but sing
> Our honours purchast by the Gray-goose wing?
> Brave *Cordelion* with a feathered band
> Beat the brave Soldan from the holy Land.
> O what an honour did the Black Prince gaine,
> When he with English Archers conquered *Spaine*!'

His miscellaneous prose and verse were *πάρεργα*, pleasant enough in their way. They did not interfere with the main business of his life, which was the stage. He was before all things a man of the theatre. Actor and dramatist, he did what was expected of him throughout his long life. He was fit for 'tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-

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'comical, historical-pastoral,' and the rest. His versatility is boundless. There is not a tune of the time which he did not play, and play, after his fashion, well. Was a chronicle wanted, he could supply it with *Edward IV.* and *If You know not Me, You know Nobody.* And whether he wrote of Edward or Elizabeth, he could not keep from the stage the men he had seen or known in town or country. Old Hobs, the tanner of Tamworth, who made sport for King Edward, was familiar to Heywood's eye. Spicing is the pot-house politician, drawn by Shakespeare as Jack Cade. And Jockie, the faithful attendant upon Jane Shore, must needs have been a Scot, known to Heywood, for he speaks good round Doric.[1] The further Heywood went in his *Edward IV.* the more easily he forgot the Court in the homely tragedy which he best understood. Not only is the scene of the Princes murdered in the Tower touched with a delicate pathos, but the interest in the drama shifts from the King to Shore, the goldsmith, and his wife. The character of Shore himself, a gallant man, was drawn by the same sympathetic hand which drew Frankford in *A Woman Killed with Kindness.* With equal skill and knowledge Heywood set upon the stage the merchant venturers of his time, the men who haunted the taverns of Fowey and Plymouth, and were ready to sail the seas in quest of gain and honour. In *The Faire Maid of the West* he strikes the

[1] Jockie is not the only proof that Heywood knew a Scot when he saw one. Valerius, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, sings a Northern ballad :—

'Weele gang into the Kirk,
His dead corps Weele embrace,
And when we see him dead,
We ay will cry alas!'

true note at the first scene. 'How Plymouth swells with gallants,' he writes,

> 'How the streets
> Glister with gold! You cannot meet a man
> But tricked in scarf and feather, that it seems
> As if the pride of England's gallantry
> Were harboured here.'

In his mythological plays, *Love's Mistris*, and in *The Brazen Age* and the others of the series, he played another tune of the time. And then, as if to prove his mastery, he produced in *The Rape of Lucrece* a drama which seems like a travesty of himself, and which holds the same place in Heywood's work as *Troilus and Cressida* holds in Shakespeare's. It is a strange medley of Livy's sober history and such numbers as might be looked for (vainly) in a modern musical comedy. Sentiment and style are here vastly overcharged, in defiance of Heywood's custom.[1] The pompous words used by Brutus and others in this play may not be matched elsewhere in Heywood's works. When Brutus speaks of 'tranquillous pleasures,' and 'trifurk thunder,' and 'tenebrous silence,' when he exclaims,

> 'The state is full of dropsy, and swollen big
> With windy vapours, which my sword must pierce,'

it is certain that Heywood, usually modest in thought and speech, is laughing at something or somebody. Nor is it possible to accept the murderous Tullia as anything but a

[1] The very title of the play suggests a travesty: 'The Rape of Lucrece. A true Roman Tragedy. With the Severall Songs in their apt places, by *Valerius* the merry Lord among the Roman Peeres.'

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caricature. The woman who, in contemplating her father's slaughter, cries aloud :—

> ' Let 's lave our brows then in that crimson flood ;
> We must be bold and dreadlesse : who aspires,
> Mounts by the lives of fathers, son, or sires,'

and who, when she is told that her ' shoe is crimsoned ' with her father's ' vital blood,' replies :—

> ' No matter ; let his mangled body lie,
> And with his base confederates strew the streets,
> That, in disgrace of his usurped pride,
> We o'er his trunke may in our chariot ride,'

might make a serious appearance in a play by Webster or Cyril Tourneur. She is obviously regarded by Heywood as a cause rather for laughter than for tears.

But it is Valerius, the merry Lord, who makes it certain that Heywood in *The Rape of Lucrece* was aiming at a comic effect. Valerius is ready, at all occasions, with a song. Now and again, as in ' Packe, clouds, away,' he sings a song of pure beauty. At other times, pure ribaldry is nearer to his taste. When he sings of Molly and Nelly, of Betty and Nanny, of whom he 'll ha' none, he carries us as far from tragedy as from ancient Rome, and convinces us that his creator is but laughing at us. And then, to make assurance sure, he goes ' hammering ' about the taverns of Rome :—

> ' The gentry to the King's Head,
> The nobles to the Crown,
> The Knights into the Goulden Fleece,
> And to the Plough the Clown.'

Then with an equally fine anachronism he sings a Dutch song, or, by request of Scevola, shows how the Englishman,

for his variety in taste, humour, and gesture, puts down all other nations whatsoever :—

> 'The French affects the Orleance Grape,
> The Spaniard tastes his Sherry ;
> The English none of these can scape,
> But he with all makes merry.'

Did any doubt still remain, the catch which Valerius, with Horatius and the Clown to aid him, sings about the rape of Lucrece, should instantly remove it There is no question here, as the commentators say, of pandering to the tastes of the less refined among the audience ; it is frank and open burlesque, and shameless of its kind.

The Rape of Lucrece was but an interlude in the work of Heywood. Though he attempted many kinds of drama, he understood best the homely life of the country, and he knew well how to give it a tragic or a comic turn. It may be said that the 'domestic drama' was his invention. Such plays as *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The English Traveller* stand apart from the other dramas of his age. In these plays he set upon the stage the world about him, the world of Lincolnshire, which he had known from his childhood. He depicts, with the certainty that comes of knowledge, the habits and customs of his friends and contemporaries. He is as far from great passions as he is from great poetry. He is content to show you how he thinks his companions in the country or in the city would act or speak in the conditions which he sketches for them. The joys and sorrows of country gentlemen, their hawking and their card-playing—these are the material of his art. Or he will turn him to the city of London, within whose borders he spent the greater part of his life, and celebrate

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the glories of the Royal Exchange, and Crosbie House, and the docks. To show how loyal a citizen he is, he will invent shows and masques for the Lord Mayor. On such homely scenes as these he kept his eyes, while Shakespeare's curious gaze sought the sea-coast of Bohemia. That they might agree with his plain view of life, his men and women were simple folk, and it may justly be conceded to him that he knew well how to reproduce the tone and the lineaments of an English gentleman. His Frankford, his Young Geraldine, and his Spencer are of the true breed, who may be trusted never to take advantage of others or to break their word. When Young Geraldine refrains from visiting old Wincott's house lest he should besmirch the name of Mistress Wincott, when Spencer comes not to the aid of his Besse when she falls a-fainting because he has given his word to the King of Fesse that nothing shall pass between them, you recognise the lofty sense of honour which should animate our countrymen.

Now Lamb, in saying that Heywood was 'a prose Shakespeare,' meant possibly that he spoke to us as familiars, that he came intimately within the compass of our understanding. 'Others abide our question, thou art free'—that is true enough of Shakespeare. It is not true of Heywood. Apart from what he has told us about himself, we may divine something of his character from his own friendly dramas. Lamb gave him the qualities of 'gener-'osity, courtesy, temperance in the depth of passion; sweet-'ness, in a word, and gentleness.' Few will demur to Lamb's judgment. And his style in these dramas of everyday life harmonised perfectly with his thought. It

is simple, straightforward, unadorned; in two words—*simplex munditiis*. None knew better than Heywood how to depict an emotion with plain words, and to harrow you with plain effects. Whether he writes in prose or in blank verse, he does not go beyond the limits of common speech. It may be said of him, as was said of Sophocles, that he used the μέσος λόγος. He does not tear passion to tatters, nor frighten you with extravagant terms. Jewelled words rarely sparkle in his lines, and except in such plays as *The Rape of Lucrece* he shows you no signs of bombast. He attains the pathos, in which he is eminent, by a stern restraint, by a subtler method than extravagance. Briefly, he is the very antithesis of Webster and Tourneur. Even in his scenes of highest emotion, his style is easy and unaffected, his images are natural. When Wendoll makes love to Mistress Frankford, 'O speake no more!' he says in answer to her displeasure,

> 'For more than this I know, and have recorded
> Within the red-leav'd Table of my heart.
> Faire, and of all belov'd, I was not fearefull
> Bluntly to give my life into your hand,
> And at one hasard all my earthly meanes.
> Go tell your husband; he will turne me off,
> And I am then undone. I care not, I;
> 'Twas for your sake. Perchance in rage hee'l kill me:
> I care not, 'twas for you.'

And Mistress Frankford, in the moment of yielding, is too sincerely confused between weakness and remorse to utter more than a few broken words:—

> 'My soule is wandring, and hath lost her way.
> Oh, Master Wendoll! oh!'

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Nor does Frankford, when he discovers the treachery of his wife and his friend, seek refuge in noisy speech. He hardly raises his voice when he is in the act to surprise the lovers. 'And this is the last door,' says he,

> 'Astonishment,
> Feare, and amazement play against my heart,
> Even as a madman beats upon a drum.'

Even when his disillusionment is complete, he has still command of his word and thought. 'O God! O God! that it were possible,' he cries,

> 'To undo things done; to call backe yesterday!
> That time could turne up his swift sandy glasse,
> To untell the dayes, and to redeeme these hours.'

So it is that Heywood, keeping close to the level earth, has not to assail the sky with voice and gesture when the moment of passion comes. His moderation was misunderstood. 'Many of his plays,' says Kirkman, 'being 'composed loosely in taverns occasions them to be so mean.' Haste is discernible sometimes in Heywood's dramas, especially in his conduct of the fable, but in Kirkman's sense they are not mean. And if you would know with what ease and tranquillity Heywood can adapt his style to narrative, turn to his description of the drunken shipwreck in *The English Traveller*. It is Young Geraldine who tells the story of Young Lionel's carousal :—

> 'In the height of their Carowsing, all their braines
> Warmed with the heat of Wine, Discourse was offer'd
> Of Ships, and Stormes at Sea; when suddenly,
> Out of his giddy wildnesse, one conceives

> The Room wherein they quafft to be a Pinnace,
> Moving and Floating, and the confused Noise
> To be the murmuring Winds, Gusts, Marinners.'

It is an old story, told by Cowley in his *Naufragium Joculare*, and told before Cowley by Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, and never better told than by Heywood. Such were some of Heywood's gifts, who, because he remained modest in passion, temperate in style at a time when pomp and riot were in fashion, because, in truth, he avoided some faults of the Elizabethans, seems to us modern in speech as he is still familiar in sentiment. From him and some others, and not from Shakespeare, comes the tradition of English drama. When Shakespeare had done with the mould which he himself had made, he broke it, and it was the example of homelier poets, like Heywood, that served them who fell a-writing of plays in the time that followed.

Like many another among his contemporaries, Heywood added translation to the other crafts which he practised. He gave proof of his skill as a translator, as I have said, in his *Hierarchie of Blessed Angells*, as well as in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas*, in which he turned the prose of Lucian and Erasmus into easy, shambling verse. But his best experiment in this kind was the Englishing of Sallust's two histories of Catiline and Jugurtha. There was every reason why Sallust should receive, in the early seventeenth century, the honour of translation. He came within the scope of the growing curiosity. His works had already assumed an English dress before Heywood's day. His *Catiline* was presently to be an inspiration to Ben Jonson. He was a man made on the model which the

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Elizabethans could understand, a not too scrupulous adventurer, and never tired of improving the occasion. Though he pretended, in his writings, to engross the simple virtues, he became a byword of extravagance in his own time, and the fame of his grandeur survived for centuries. And as his wealth was derived from the practice of politics, he exposed himself naturally to the suspicion of his fellows. Wherefore, being beyond the reach of poverty, he retired to his estates, and, like Xenophon, another country gentleman, gave himself to the writing of history. But, if he wrote for his pleasure, he was not a mere amateur. He thought no labour excessive either in gathering his materials or in castigating his style. He called to his aid both the testimony of original documents and the evidence of his own observation. In his *Catiline* he wrote about events of which he had been an eye-witness ; in his *Jugurtha* he described a strange country which he had visited, a strange people which he had studied. In brief, he was no mere chronicler. He was a scrupulous artist in words, and he possessed a keen sense of drama. He knew, none better, how to set his personages upon the stage, and make them speak and act according to their temper. His interest in character never failed him, and his Cæsar and Cato, to choose two examples, are living men, carefully drawn and fearlessly contrasted. He was a pious imitator—at a distance—of Thucydides, and a model to Tacitus, who called him '*rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*.'

I have said he was an artist of the pen. He employed a man, if rumour may be believed, to find for him old words and ancient figures of speech. He cultivated a style that

was at once brief and pointed, a style which explains and justifies the admiration of Tacitus. Thus he was a fitting original for a translator such as Heywood to try his skill upon. Above all, he was likely to win the appreciation of the Elizabethans, because he had, as they had, a constant love of preaching. He delighted in moralities and generalisations. He was always ready to take the past as an example for the present, and to arrive at large, if hasty, conclusions in political philosophy. Nor was Heywood far behind him in this readiness. It is significant that he prefaces his translation by a treatise on the philosophy of history, which he entitled, 'Of the 'choice of history, by way of Preface, dedicated to the 'Courteous Reader, upon occasion of the frequent Trans-'lations of these latter times.' It is significant also that he took his preface—with no clearer acknowledgment than 'Bodin' printed in the margin, and the statement at the foot of a page: 'Note the Author himselfe was a French-man'—from the fourth chapter of Jean Bodin's ingenious *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*. The chapter is entitled by Bodin *de historicorum delectu*, which, if it gives all the material upon which a choice might be made, avows in the end that the author is 'content to leave every 'man to his free election.'

That Bodin had a clearer understanding of the use and purpose of history than the most of his contemporaries is evident from his close reasoning and wise conclusions. It is true also that he could not have expected to win agreement from those of his own age or from those of Heywood's. He knew well that the

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standard of truth had been lowered. 'In these times,' says he, 'the world swarmeth with such as commit to 'writing things of base and vulgar Argument, whereas in 'times of greatest antiquity wee had almost none.' As you read him, in Heywood's version, you might think that you are listening to those professors who not long since pleaded that history was a science, and that he who dared to describe the past should not let his readers guess at his opinions, his beliefs, or his prejudices. At any rate Bodin set up a lofty standard for those who would study history. He was a stern classic in his method, and declined to have any dealings with guesswork or romance. 'Wee are to 'gather,' he wrote, 'that of all sorts of Historiographers 'those are worst to bee liked of, which with impure handes '(as the Proverbe is) presume to write of History, being 'both inexperienced in affaires of importance, and utterly 'unlearned. Of these is my Caveat in choise of Historie.' He had another Caveat against partiality. 'The next 'to beware of, is a rayling or a passionate Writer (for you 'shall not find all Authors free from this humour), and him 'suspect of flattery, by praising himselfe, his favourites 'and countrymen, and bitterly taunting his opposites, or 'enemies.' With due respect to Bodin, history without the 'rayling writer' would be somewhat dull.

At the same time, he would be just even to his enemies. 'In reading the disgraces of an enemy,' he argues, 'let our assertion bee suspended untill we have 'examined the worth of the writer; for an adversaries 'report is not rashly to bee rejected, nor at first sight 'imbraced.' To estimate the historian's credibility is

the first duty of criticism. So he tells us how some writers have been led away by kindliness or a sense of obligation. 'Such an one was Froissart,' says he, 'who 'whether he stood more beholding to the English, or the 'English to him, many make question, he himself publicly 'acknowledging their bounty and munificence.' And then he puts a question, which has been asked many times and variously answered. 'The next doubt,' says he, 'that 'troubleth my mind, is whether an Historiographer ought 'to praise, dispraise, shew his opinion; or leave all to the 'judgment of his Reader.' The doubt does not trouble him long, for he instantly admits that 'historie ought to 'be nothing but a representation of truth, and as it were a 'Map of mens actions, sette forth in the publicke view of 'all commen to bee examined.' With truth, indeed, he will make no compromise. He forbids the historian of his choice to be an orator, and he quotes Jovius, like the devil, to his purpose: 'He that swertheth from the truth 'of his project, putteth out the eye of a most beautifull 'creature.'

Having out of Bodin erected this handsome porch, Heywood confidently entered the main building, which was the Histories of Sallust. These he translated after the manner of his time, nonchalantly and with a due sense of effect. That he followed his rivals in getting what help he could from the French version, which lay at his hand, cannot be disputed. A general impression of indebtedness is intensified when he renders the word '*reguli*' by 'roy-'telets'; the debt is made certain when Heywood and Loys Meigret Lyonnois, the author of the French version

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(1547), both translate '*quasi per saturam*' (*Jugurtha*, chapter xxix.) as 'according to the law Satura' (or *faicte comme par la loi Satyre*), when it means no more than a 'medley.' Though Heywood sometimes misses the meaning of his author, as well he might, he keeps generally near enough to the sense. Now and again he reproduces even the close-knit brevity of Sallust. Take, for instance, this characteristic passage (*Jugurtha*, chapter xvii.): '*Mare saevum impor-*
'*tuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infe-*
'*cundus; caelo terraque penuria aquorum; genus hominum*
'*salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum.*' There is not a word wasted there, and Heywood, if we allow for the need, which the English tongue has, of verbs and prepositions, does not come far behind his original. 'The sea is stormy,
'the shores without havens, the soile fertill of grain,
'plentifull for Cattell, but unapt for trees. It hath few
'springs, and little rain: the people are healthfull of bodie,
'swift of foote, and indurable of labour.'

That is not his usual practice. He has a genuine love of expansion. He is happy when he can make half a dozen words do the work of one. '*Paucis*' he turns into 'wherein
'I vowe all possible brevity' (*Catiline*, chapter iv.). When he writes (*Catiline*, chapter xxxvi.), 'yet fostered they
'within their own bowels a viperous consort of fellow
'citizens,' he has no better warrant than '*fuere tamen cives.*' It was, moreover, his pleasant habit to give to the Latin, where he could, the sound of his own time. How else should he translate '*scortis et conviviis*' than by 'whores and
'ordinaries'? Or '*optimo cuique*' than by 'to every
'gentleman of quality,' which is precisely what is meant in

the France of the seventeenth century by '*honnêtes gens*'? Indeed, the idea of 'quality' is so close to his mind that he writes 'great personages and men of quality' for the simple phrase '*magno imperio praediti.*' To prove that he cannot get away from his own age, he translates '*gladiatoriae familiae*' by 'fencers,' and interprets '*divina et humana omnia*' by the essentially modern phrase, 'church and commonwealth.' And as he delights to render the plain Latin into his own familiar speech, so he loses no chance of expressing in his own imagery the thoughts of his author. He decorates the somewhat dry phrases of Sallust with the flowers of his own fancy. Examples of this you may find upon any page you choose. '*Quos . . . luxuria atque avaritia vexabant*' he turns to 'in which Ryot and Avarice did hammer.' 'Than himself, minstrel like, to be the chaunter of another man's glory,' is suggested by the simple, direct words, '*quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.*' So, too, he must needs elaborate '*ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere*' into 'to speake truly, these were the fatall bellowes to kindle the fire of our future misfortunes.' And everywhere you will find a lively phrase, a spritely image. How better could '*superbia atque deliciis*' be translated than by 'pride and niceties'? Is there not a vigour in 'to have you trussed up at the gallows,' which the original, '*caedem in vos fecisse*' lacks? And when the words '*dediti ventri*' suggest 'belly-cheere' to him, he seems to be not without a spark of Rabelais.

Thus he turned the Histories of Sallust into the speech of his own day, following the example of his predecessors. He made his translation some ten or twelve years after he had

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come upon the town as actor and playwright. His long life was given to letters, and he is said by Kirkman to have written a sheet a day for many a year. He outlived all his great contemporaries. Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Webster, who called him 'his well-beloved friend,' preceded him to the grave. His last work, *The Life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius*, is dated 1641, and ends upon a panegyric of Charles I. from his pen who had eloquently sung the praises of Queen Elizabeth and our James. 'Hee is a Prince wise and just, crowned with all the especiall gifts of nature and fortune, but (which fame transcends the rest) plenteously endowed with all the heavenly graces.' Whether Heywood lived to see the high, mighty, and invincible Prince Charles mount the scaffold is unknown. He is spoken of in *The Satire against Separatists*, printed in 1648, as though he were still alive. That is all, and if we can but dimly picture him in his youth, in his ripe old age he is completely hidden from our sight. So he remains, like the best of his contemporaries, a vague, uncertain figure, happily memorable for the work that he did, and undisgraced by the tongue of gossip or scandal.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

THE TWO MOST WORTHY AND NOTABLE HISTORIES WHICH REMAINE UNMAIMED TO POSTERITY: VIZ. THE CONSPIRACIE OF CATELINE, UNDERTAKEN AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SENATE OF ROME, AND THE WARRE WHICH JUGURTH FOR MANY YEARES MAINTAINED AGAINST THE SAME STATE. BOTH WRITTEN BY C. C. SALUSTIUS.

Historia est testis Temporum, Lux veritatis:
Magistra vitae: Nuncia vetustatis.

[1608]

TO THE RIGHT WORTHY AND VALOROUS,

SIR THOMAS SUMMERSET,

Maister of the Horsse to the
Queenes most excellent Majesty.

SIR, having no fitter occasion to manifest my duty to your Worthinesse (though I have often wisht matter more expressive both of my love and zeale) I have adventured rather to tempt your acceptance in this small presentment, worthy (no man will denie) in its proper Ornament, of an Honourable Patronage: Then by perpetuall neglect to incur the imputation of Ingratitude, a vice amongest the Heathen punishable, amongest Christians, contemptible. Herein therefore (right Generous) let me in lieu of all my friends, make confession of your many and extraordinary favours, from time to time vouchsafed us. In acknowledgment wherof, sithence we want power to deserve, yet give us leave with thankfull overtures to remember. Protesting, that if you

daigne to accept of this unpolisht Translation, partly divulged under the shadow of your protection, for the pleasure of your vacant howers, but especially for the generall good of all English Gentlemen, when, eyther Time or better judgment, shall furnish me with a more desertfull project, to prosecute it soly to the approbation of your most judicious censure. Thus far presuming, that if it passe your allowance, I will adventure neither to feare the discourtesy of the Cinicke, nor the sole-conceit of the Curious. In assurance whereof, being constantly warranted by the generous carryage of your Heroycall disposition, I esteeme it as rich in value as I account it happy in acceptance, having in it nothing so worthy as your favour, whereunto I wholie refer it.

Yours faithfully devoted,

THO. HEYWOOD.

OF THE CHOICE OF HISTORY, BY WAY OF PREFACE,

Dedicated to the Courteous Reader, upon occasion of the frequent Translations of these latter times

THE chiefest occasion that moved the Scythians so peremptorily to distast Learning and Antiquities, was for that they saw the wals painted, and the Libraries of the Greekes and Romans Bodin stuffed, with the records of their owne Atchievements, but the memorable actions of other Nations, either overslipped, or satyrically disgraced. For all other Nations (the Hæbrewes excepted) committed nothing to writing concerning their Fortunes. And surely (I know not upon what grounds) it is a generall fault amongst al Martiall men to pen nothing of their owne exploites: And those who have somewhat inured their minds to learning, for their excessive delight therein, can hardly be drawn at any time to alter their studies. By which perversenesse of eithers error, those Nations which have bin famous for their Military valour, have utterly lost their ancient reputation, after their imbracement of Letters and learning.

The best reasons that I can give, are either to be grounded upon desire of ease, or else upon their proficiency in the precepts of Nature and Divinity; which not only abhorre the effusion of blood, but withal depose their former infusion of Barbarisme and cruelty; as in experience wee have seene it come to passe, first by the Greekes and Latines,

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and afterwards by succeeding Nations. The people of Asia, were ever accounted good Orators and pen-men, but the Lacedemonians rude and rough fellowes, utterly unlearned: and yet by war and Conquest, at home and abroad, acquired worthy purchases, and had their fortunes eternized to the world; not by themselves, but by strangers: Whereas the memorable Actions, wars and Conquests of the Celts, the Germans, the Arabians and Turks, are either buried in oblivion, or at least ballated in one sheet of paper, and that (for the most part) by their enemies. Better fortune had the Græcians in setting forth the battell of Salamine or Marathon. For by the ample discourses thereof, a man would imagine that a more honourable piece of service was never atchived in any age. But as Alexander sitting in Darius his chaire of Estate, pleasantly told the Ambassadors of Greece, aggravating the danger of the present rebellion of all the Greeke Citties, that those wars seemed unto him but as conflicts of Mice and Rats. In like sort those easie warres that Alexander managed against the effeminate Asians and Persians (to which Cato spared not to give the epithites of Woomanish, and Cæsar, Contemptible) hold no comparison with the bloudie incounters of the Celts, the Germans, the Turkes and Tartars, as may easilie be gathered by those who are disposed to call to mind their overthrowes given and taken, and finally written by each others enemies.

Wherefore to make a judicious conjecture of the good nesse of Histories, wee ought to remember the wise counsell of Aristotle, not onely in our choise, but also in our reading, That an Author ought not to be accepted with an over-weening credulity, nor rejected with peremptorie incredulity. For if we credit al, in all writers, we cannot choose but oftentimes swallow things false, for true, and so commit grosse errors in dispatches of importance: So againe, if we should presentlie condemne an Historie, as of no credit, we should reape no profit, in countervaile of time therein consumed. Yet let every Author beare his owne blame, whereof if they that have stuffed their monuments of

memory with fabulous impostures, be guiltie in one sort, in no lesse fault are the Turkes, who can say nothing of their discent or Originall, neither will suffer any writing thereof to be commended to posterity; beleeving, that no Historiographer can write truely upon report, much lesse will they, who were either in action, or in place over the action; every man being bewitched to tell a smooth tale to his owne credit: Or suppose, he be of an unpartial spirit, yet either the feare of great personages, or passion, or mony, will prevaricate his integrity. But what should discourage succeeding Ages, that they should feare to write freely of their Equals? Surely in these times, it is not probable that amongst such variety of Authors, no one should be found, whose workes were not void of affection, of corruption, of envy, of passion. Let the judicious Reader therefore, between these extreames (of lightnesse and Critique rashnesse) take the middle course, so shal he cul out of everie good Author singuler purity. Neither let him censure the worke, before he fully understand the depth and sufficiencie of the Author. But indeede this should be the care of the state, to looke into the argument and method of Books before they come to the Presse, least by the vulgar censuring of some deficient labours, others of more sufficiency be dishartned from publishing their writings. For in this choise of Authors, which every student ought to propose unto himselfe, I would not have every one to be his own judge (for censure is a gifte of art and experience) but to moderate his opinion by coherence, comparisons, and infallible reasons, which if they be not allowed by the major partie, let him never be ashamed to change his determination. For as those which will spend their verdicts upon Pictures, their dimensions, lineaments and colours (wherein the skilfullest eie is often cozened and deceived) ought not to bee ignoraunt of Symmetry, to give true judgement: So is it necessarie for him that will distinguish betweene the sufficiency and insufficiencie of Historie, not onelie to bee well read in the Arts, but also much conversant in humaine occurrances.

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Of Writers in this kind there are three sorts, the first whereof being wel qualified by nature, but better by learning, have bin called unto Magistracie. The second sort have wanted learning, and yet proved very sufficient by the adjuncts of Nature and experience: and the latter being somewhat helped by Nature, and wanting experimentall imploiment, have notwithstanding by their industrie and integritie in their collection of Historie, even equalled those who have spent the greatest portions of their daies in the Counsell-house of Princes. Of every one of these you shall find infinite variety, and so much the greater, by how much everie one favoureth of more or lesse integrity, learning and experience. The best are those which are best seene in all these, and free from passion. I adde passion, because it is harde for an upright conscience discoursing of an evill subject, to abstaine from hard language; or on the other side, to attribute unto good actions a moderate commendation. For the inserting modestly in praise of the good, and dispraise of the wicked, hath given no smal ocasion for the amplifying of Historie. Whereof if good Authors ought to be noted, what shall we say of Evill?

No slight consideration must therefore be taken, whether our Historiographer hath written of himselfe, or of others; of Fellow-Cittizens or Strangers; of Friends or Enemies; of Militarie discipline or Civill Governement; of his Equals or Inferiours; and lastly, of his owne time, or of fore-passed ages. For judgement in this imployment, Secretaries, Privy-Counsellors, and Presidents in Courtes of Justice are verie sufficient: (for by these three the state is ballanced) but more sufficient is he, who alone sitteth at the Helm; but most of al he, that adjoyneth much reading of Law and Historie to dailie experience. To the perfection whereof two things are most requisite; Bookes and Travaile; without the former, whereof, the difficile management of imployment (in any kind) is hardly attained to, and the date of mans life is over-short to compasse it by travaile and wandering observation, as of olde time did Lycurgus, Solon and Ulysses.

The last of whom Homer pronounced wise, For that he had seene the maners of many people, and the customes of divers Citties. In these daies many dote upon sight of strange countries, the Natures of living Creatures and plants, the Fabrickes of Palaces and Pyramides, with the overworne sculptures of Ancient coines, but the misteries of publicke Government, and their alterations, they never regard.

Next unto Bookes of humanitie, and experiments of Travaile, I commend insight in Lawe. For those that are to determine suits and contentions (saith Arcadius) knowe all sortes of misdemeanors; and not misdemeanors onely, but their contraries, without the indifferent apprehension whereof, the one and the other cannot be pried into and prevented. For in discerning between good and evil, consisteth the fulnesse of human wisedome.

Whereuppon wee are to gather, that of all sorts of Historiographers those are worst to bee liked of, which with impure handes (as the Proverbe is) presume to write of History, being both unexperienced in affaires of importance, and ucterly unlearned. Of these is my chiefest Caveat in choise of Historie.

The next to beware of, is a rayling or a passionate Writer (for you shall not find all Authors free from this humor) and him suspect of flattery, by praising himselfe, his favourites and Countrymen, and bitterly taunting his opposites, or enemies. But when you meet with an Authour, who giveth his enemy his due commendation, read him with trust and beleefe; and the rather, if he bee a stranger to both parties: esteeme him as litigious persons do of Umpiers in Arbitrementes, voyd of partiality. For it is aparant that Dionysius Hallicarnasseus (a man of no eminent place in Government) wrote the History of the Romans with better faith and more uprightnesse, then Fabius, Sallust, or Cato, men advanced to wealth and honour in their Common-weales. For Polybius a Græcian in many places doth tax Fabius and Philenus of falshood, the one a Roman the other a Carthaginian, and both writing upon

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the Punicke warres; the one giving all the honour to the Romans, the other to the Carthaginians. These are the words of Polybius. Philenus avoucheth that the Carthaginians behaved themselves valiantly, and the Romans baselie and cowardly. But Fabius by the censure of Polybius was a man of approved honesty, and wisedom, to whom the projects of the Romans, nor the counterplots of the enemy were hidden, or unrevealed. Yet both Oratorlike were very wary to say or do anything to their own irreputations. But let not any thinke, that in an History he can discharge both the part of an Orator and Historiographer. For I cannot allow of those writings which in praises and flattery are copious, in reprehension of vices, briefe and penurious; this maxime being most justifiable, that even the man of best discretion and uprightnesse, committeth manifold errors. Wherein Equinard and Acciolus have so magnified Carolus Magnus, Eusebius Constancie, Nebrensis Ferdinand, Jovius Cosmo Medices, Philostratus Apollonius, Procopius Bellisarius, Staphilus, and Leua, Charles the fift, that heerein they have rather merited the sirnames of Orators, then of Historiographers. And therefore let the judicious Censurer suspend his judgement not by the scale of Friends and Countreymen, but by the verdict of enemies also. Against Phillip Comines, in praising of Lewes the XI. let him oppose Meyer; and not Meyer onely, but Paulus Æmilius; because the one is excessive in commending, the other as farre gone in discommending; the third in a meane. Meyer tearmeth him perjurious and fratricide, whose desire was above al things, without regard of the Lawes of God or man, to become sole Tyrant of the state. The same Author calleth Comines himselfe, Traitor and Fugitive. And therefore in these alterations, I wish neither of them to be believed, because the one was highly advanced and inriched, by the King, the other a professed enemy, and had his pen deeplier dipped in gall, then was seeming for an Historiographer. Æmilius was neither friende nor foe (for he was of Verona) and wrote gravely and modestly in these words. The Duke (saith he) did

envy the King, accusing him with the death of his Brother, to have corrupted his Brothers children, and to work them to poison their Father. Hee affirmes nothing rashly, he omitted not repugnant reports. They wrote in the life of Lewes; this man an hundred yeares after, impossible at that time to bee possessed with expectancy of grace, feare, or envy. So Tacitus did avowe the actions of Tiberius, Claudius, Caius, and Nero, reported in their life times to be full of flattery through feare, and after they were dead, as full of despight, and both false. And therefore it was his first protestation, that he would write them without Envie or Flattery, as in a time of more securitie. For hee wrote an hundred yeares after their deaths, and peradventure had read the saying of Aristotle, that New Histories were as fabulous and distative as those of deepest Antiquity.

Surely those that will write of the present, can hardlie write truly, but they must touch the credit and reputation of some men. And therefore Cicero in his Catalogue of all the best Orators, remembred not one living, least they which by chance or negligence were forgotten or omitted (as himselfe speaketh) should conceive displeasure. Who would then seeke for truth amongst Authors conversing with such times, wherein to write what a man would not, was accounted dishonest: to write what he would, dangerous.

The best course is therefore without all fear to dedicate our Papers to posterity, or if any think so well of his workes, that he will publish them in his life time, let his History consist of times past, collected out of the best Comentaries publicke, private, and Ancient: As did Livy, Tranquillus, Tacitus, Arrian, and Dionysius Hallicarnasseus, all, most approved Authors: and the last of most credite, because he wrote of another state, not of his owne, and sawe all mens Commentaries, and secrets of state by publique permission.

In this ranke also, are Polybius, Plutarch, Metasthenes, Ammianus, Polidor, Cresias, Æmilius, Aluaresius, and Lodowick Roman. Polybius.

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But of those which have nothing in them but reports, ek toon alloon akroamatoon as Polybius speaketh, and have not seene publicke Registers, let them be of no Authority. For the better Authors to induce better beleef, avouched their authorities from publique remembrances, as Ammianus, who brought to light the Originall of the Gaules from their Publicke Monuments. So likewise Arrian writeth in his preface, That he read the Commentaries of King Ptolemy, an eiewitnesse of the Acts of Alexander, never before set forth. Appian had the like Fortune with the papers of Augustus. Metasthenes and Ctesias with the Libraries of the Persians. Diodorus with the Arcana of the Egyptians. Onasicratus and Aristobulus the Lieutenant of Alexander avow those things which they sawe with their eyes in Egypt and India. Not that I dare avouch that the truth of History is to be sought for in the Commentaries of Kinges, for they are given to speake largely of their owne praises, but to make no use of those Observations which are little or nothing interessed in their praise or disgrace; as the Computations of times, the largenesse and scituation of Provinces, the Government of Citties, the ages of Princes, their raignes and successions, and in especial, their Policies; wherein the end of reading all in all consisteth. For as Metasthenes affirmeth, All men that writ of Princes are not to be beleeved, but especially the Priests, to whose fidelity and custody the publicke Annals were incredited. Such a one was Berosus, who collected the raignes of the Assyrians out of the Annals of his predecessors. This Metasthenes.

Secondly, if a History have such and so many witnesses as cannot be contested, it hath the greater apparancie of truth, yea in seeming incredulities, especiallie if it suffer examination and triall. For who would beleeve that the Roman Senate at the motion of a Clowne, who dreamed that Jupiter called unto him in his sleepe, and willed him to admonish the Senate that they should renew the plaies, because he that lead the dance in the former showes had daunced falslie. The Senate assented. One man per-

chance in relating this triviall accident would not be beleeved, but heerin Plutarch, Livy, Dionysius, Valerius and Pliny, do all agree; who in so uniforme a consent of the Senate and people could not relate a falshood.

But methinkes I heare one say, the latter was deceived by the error of the former; and so each after other. Surely and so it may be, not onely in the Historie of humanitie, but also of Nature: For the olde world reported, that Swans approching their ends, would sweetlie sing their Funerall farewels; a tradition not onely received from the times of Æschylus by Poets and Painters, but likewise by the chiefest of the Phylosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Chrisippus, Philostratus, Cicero, and Seneca. And yet Pliny, and after him Athenæus report uppon proofe, that it is but a Fable, and so to this day it yet remaineth.

But as for naturall Historie the validitie thereof, whereof we meane not to discourse, is soone experimented, which in humaine (for their infinite confusions) can never be examined. As for example; Many good Writers, and not one, or two, but almost twentie wrote that the Duke of Orleans was beheaded for Treason, and that at Paris: and yet it was apparant, that XXX. yeares after his imprisonment in England, he returned into France, and there peaceably died. For which rashnesse my Countrey-man G. Bellay doth sharpely reprehend those Historiographers, who will audaciouslie commit to publique beliefe the flying reports of fame and the vulgar. Of this fault Strabo taxed Posidonius, Erastosthenes and Metrodorus. They delivered for true history (saith he) the reports of the most inconstant people. But Posidonius used the Authoritie of C. Pompey, so that I thinke hee could write nothing unadvisedly.

Therefore when Authors disagree amongst themselves, I take it the safest course to beleeve the latest, at leastwise if their reasons co-here necessarily, and their Arguments are strong to prove what they say. For such is the Nature and obscurity of truth, that unlesse it be raked from auncient and fundamentall Originals, it will hardly appeare

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like it selfe, but best then, when the reports, the flatteries and passions of the vulgar are buried with their bodies.

As to Religion, because the Controversies betweene the professions and professors thereof, are so irreconcilable, I woulde not advise a man to seeke out the Opinions of the Heathen among the Jewish Writers, nor of the Jewes amongst the Christians, nor that of the Christians amongst the Moores or Mahumetans, but to read the Authors of everie sect and Religion by themselves, to weigh the credit of the writer, and the validitie of the thing written, and how they agree or disagree amongest themselves. So much (concerning this Argument) as hath beene set foorth by divers Authors, I will rather blanch with the imputation of mistaking and ignorance in Antiquities, then with the foul Title of untruth; even as the old Græcians dealt with the Romans and the Celts, and the Romaines with the Chaldeans and Jewes, each one being ignorant in the Antiquities of either Nation.

In reading the disgraces of an enemy, let our assertion bee suspended untill we have examined the worth of the writer; for an adversaries report is not rashly to bee rejected, nor at first sight imbraced; but heerein let us imitate Caligula, who commanded the History of Cæsar written by Cassius and Labienus, and condemned by the Senate, to be published; saying, That it was profitable for the state, to have the Actions of every man, understood by all men. Yet for my part, if the testimony of the one or the other concerning Cæsar, were now extant, I would not altogether admit them to beliefe; no nor build confidence on Cæsar himselfe, when he writeth, that the Pompeyans made no conscience of Divine and humaine thinges, and left no Sacriligious violence unattempted, whereas he himselfe without any feare of Religion or deity, sacked all the Temples of the Gaules, and broake up the Treasurie of the Holy Sanctuary, which Pompey and his faction feared and refused to violate. But the reason that moved Cæsar to disperse these scandals on Pompey, was to make his enemy odious, that so he might pretend a just cause of

warre, when to a good man no excuse can seem reasonable to wage warre against his Countrey.

As concerning his Commentaries, most men receive them with approved allowance, and no marvel, when a Generall was forbidden by the Law Portia to give into the Tribunes of the Treasury, a false report what number of enemies he had slaine. Wherein if he failed, he was to be deprived of his Generalship, and denied his triumphall Ceremony; which rather then Cæsar would give over, hee would not sticke to account that lawfull which made best for his purpose, how unlawfull soever. Which law, though he had not kept inviolably, yet the feare of infamy so awed his ambition, that having many enemies, hee knew they would have failed to indict him of falshood, especially being resolved to publish his books in his owne life time. An instance whereof is to bee seene in Cicero his Anticato, though he wrote (saieth Tacitus) as persons accused are accustomed to behave themselves before Judges.

This therefore that we have spoken touching the writings of enemies, is to be received, except in cases of corruption and transfugation. Such a one was Froissart,[1] who whether he stood more beholding to the English, or the English to him, many make question, he himselfe publickly acknowledging their bounty and munificence. Such another was Aretine, who would glorie that hee was well rewarded by those whom he praised; yea, though he did it against his conscience: Yet thus much will I say for the former that it is not to be doubted, but that hee wrote truly, being either in action, or at least spending the best part of his life amongst militarie men: the fault that I finde is, for that he altogether forgot the due deserts of his owne Nation, which I thinke no uncorrupted passion can do. For Polybius (accounted a most true Author) when he came to discourse of his Countreymen, could not so moderate his pen, but needes it must breake out into most bitter invectives against Philarchus, for extenuating the valour and fortitude of the Megalopolitans in their warre against

[1] Note the Author himselfe was a Frenchman.

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Aristomachus. The same humour (if I bee not deceived) provoked Plutarch to write against Herodotus wherein he inveyeth at nothing so sharpely as at those things which he wrote concerning the Bœtians and Cherronesians. But who can refraine laughter that readeth Sabellicus his comparisons of the Venetians warres with those of the Romans. Even Donatus, Gianotus, his Fellow-Cittizen could not indure them.

With this disease (if it may be tearmed a disease, with an honest fallacy to maintaine the reputation of our Countrymen) almost all Historiographers are troubled. And therefore had I rather read Cæsar discoursing of the manners of the Gaules, Tacitus of the Germans, Polybius of the Romans, and Ammianus of the Frankes, for that they were strangers, unadvanced, uncorrupted, and were wel acquainted with the Originals of those things, whereof they presumed to write.

The next doubt that troubleth my mind, is whether an Historiographer, ought to praise, dispraise, shew his opinion; Or leave all to the judgement of his Reader. For either partie I will lay downe the best allegasions I can, and so leave it to discretion.

Historie ought to be nothing but a representation of truth, and as it were a Map of mens actions, sette forth in the publicke view of all commers to bee examined; And therefore the predescanting opinion of the writer cannot but bring much discredite to the Action, in that hee presumeth to prepossesse the minds of Artists with imaginarie assertions, seeming to teach those, who knew better then himselfe what belongeth to such affaires, to the wiser sort, who will not be deceived (for that he cometh to Counsel before he be called) he seemeth verie suspitious.

No lesse guiltie of another fault are many Historiographers, who in the midst of their discourses, fall off from their entended Narrations, to play the Orators or Rhetoritians, so deluding the expectations, and confounding the memories of their readers. Such a one was Timæus, condemned for both; and for his digradation from History

to Satyrisme, vulgarly termed Istitimajos and slanderer. For sithence there is nothing more difficile, then to Judge truely, who would not be aggreeved to heare an Historiographer, having nothing to do in Counsell or matter of state, to breath out his assertion of the chiefest commanders in the Republicke? Or what can be more foolish then to listen to a fellow who never saw field, reasoning of the victories and oversights of Generals and their Armies. Such a malepart part plaid he (I silence his name) that wrote the wars betweene Henry and Charles the Emperour, by playing the judge on both sides. He loded the King (or rather over loded) with such grosse flatterie and praises, that his Majestie could not endure to heare them but with loathing; Charles hee condemned as a most wicked and Cowardlie Captaine, omitting no words of reproach which his wit could imagine. Alas good man! little considered he, that his reproaches redounded to the discredit of his owne partaking, to whome it could not be imputed a dishonour to contend with such a Prince; more dishonourable to bee by him overthrowne: but most dishonourable to contract affinity. Well, by this his oversight he lost the credite of an Historiographer, and was by the consent of all good men condemned for an unjust judge. No lesse overseene was Jovius in his rash and odious comparisons of the lives of Selimus and Ismael the Sophi; of Charles the fift, Pope Paule, and divers other great Princes.

Against these I oppose Xenophon, Thucydides, Tranquillus, Cæsar, Guicciardin, and Sleidan, who seldome, and that wisely, and upon occasions intermix their Opinions. Truly Cæsar for military discipline, being all praise-woorthie, and a profound Artist in state-governement, though without reprehension he might speake his mind in warlike Controversies, and that without imputation of ignorance, yet when hee did it, it was done with discretion and modestie. For when some about him affirmed, that P. Silla might have perfected his victory, if hee had pursued the troopes of Pompey, Cæsar made answere, That he allowed of his proceedings: For (saith he) the Office of a Generall and

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Lieutenant are different; the one is to manage according to Commission, the other as occasions shall importune. Again, in the battel of Pharsalia when Pompey commanded his souldiers to stand fast, and not to remove; to receive the enemy, and not to charge: To do the like (saith Cæsar) I see not by any reason how it should stand to our advantage, because Nature hath infused into every man a certaine alacrity and courage of minde ready to quarrell: Thus a good General ought to cherrish, not to pull backward. Heere Cæsar contended with Pompey not in armes onely but in counsell also.

Many are the examples which may justifie this policy of Cæsars, as the victory of Epaminondas against the Lacedemonians, and therefore what can bee more distastive then to heare another Phormio, who never saw field, to give a peremptorie censure of such Personages, and their Fortune; or a Schoole-man to talke of the amendment of the Lawes of Lycurgus and Solon, being the wisest magestrats that ever bore office; which when Aristotle had done, he ran into the dislike of many men for it; of Polybius sparingly, of Plutarch more freely; how judiciously I say not; but generally affirme, that to speake of things we assuredly know not, is an argument of Levity; Peremptorily to judge, apparantly dangerous. Vives the Schoolemaster of Charles blameth Comines for the same fault of levity, because he often digresseth from his History; then from the lives and fortunes of Princes, and lastly falleth into discourse of an happy life, after the fashion of Phylosophers.

This notwithstanding; Comines was a man that spent his whole time either in place of government, or in the wars, or in famous Embassies, and so did not Vives. So that in my fancy, if any man might censure, surely he might. But admit his reprehension justifiable, then would I advise an Historiographer to resolve either to determine modestly, or for altogether to holde his peace, but that the authority of Polybius doth draw me to a contrary opinion. For, the reason wherefore he blameth Philarchus, was for that he

silenced due desarts: yea, and affirmeth the chiefest use of Annals to be, to inflame the good to progression by the example of their likes, and to deter the wicked by dislike of former courses. Which reason both Tacitus and Procopius allow of, besides that many grave Authors at end of their discourses have used the precedent; and amongst the number, Agathias (a wonder to me) doth compare a bare Relation, to an old-wives tale; but his authority doth not so weigh with me that therby I can be induced to consent; especially, since by the most grave censure of Cicero Cæsar who went beyond al other Historiographers in this kind of comendation, That his history was naked, simple, and true, and without all Ornament of Art laid open to every mans censure. Of like nature is the history of Xenophon, which he annexed to Thucydides, wherein he interlaceth no Opinion of his owne, maketh no digression, neither useth any Ornaments of Oration. And to their opinions, that suppose the praises of vertue, and the display of vices to be the fruit of History, I answere, that it may more truely and properly bee handled by Philosophers (to whose element it pertaineth) then by Historiographers. He disgraced Nero, sufficiently, that penned his butchering of most honest persons, his schoolemaister, his two wives, his Brother Britannicus, and finally his mother. Al these, without further addition of words, Tranquillus writeth purely and plainly: But Appian after he hath shewed howe Mithridates slew his Mother, his brother, his three young sons, and so many daughters; addeth, A man bloody and mercilesse against al sorts of people. Herein he no lesse detracted from the credite of his former discourse then Jovius, who for his long Oration, bitter and full of despight, against the Tyranies of Selimus Prince of the Turkes, seemeth unto me to have laid upon his credit a perpetuall disgrace, for that it had been sufficient to have simply related the murder of three Bassaes, of great integrity and neare alliance, two Brethren, five Nephewes, and his aged Father; and not after the maner of Orators (verie improper for an Historiographer) to run out into

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impertinent discourses, which peradventure the Reader may conster to be false or suspicious. And this under correction of those, who think nothing more unprofitable, then a bare Relation: for my part I dislike not censures upon great Potentates and their fortunes, so the censurers be men of judgment and sufficiency. For discoursing of City government Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Plutarch, Livy, Zonaras, Dio and Appian are commended. For the Art military, Cæsar, Paterculus, Ammianus, Froissart, Bellay: For both, Xenophon, Polybius, Thucydides, Tacitus, Comines and Guicciardin: For policies and Courtship, Tranquillus, Lampridius, Spartianus, Sleidan and Machiavel. For maners of people and description of Countries, Diodorus, Mela, Strabo, Leo Aser, Bœmus Alvaresius: For religion, Philo, Josephus, Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, Calistus, Orosius, Sidonius, Gregorius Turonensis, Abasurspergensis, Gulielmus Bishop of Turi, Antonius Florentinus, and the writers of the Magdeburg Historie.

But wisely spake the Ancients, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, in which sence I would not have a Polybius to discourse of Religion, nor a Eusebius of the Art military. Thus much in general of the duty of Historiographers, now of the choise of the best of these: for to hope for better were madnesse; to wish it, vanity. And as for those who poetize unto themselves the Idea of an absolute Historiographer: such a one as never hath bin, nor ever wil be, I say they might have spent their times and studies to better purpose. For who maketh question, but that an Historiographer ought to bee a man of gravity, integritie, severity, of good intelligence, eloquent, and fully insighted into the offices of publique and privat Government; I thinke none but fooles will fall in love with an History, which hath nothing in it save eloquent words, fained Orations, and merry digressions; verily supposing, that he that writeth but to please the eare, cannot but neglect the truth, whereof Thucydides, Plutarch and Diodorus accuse Herodotus; and yet Cicero (to me a wonder) tearmeth him the Parent

of History, whom all Antiquity accuseth of falsity. And therefore let him be as we find him, whom al Authors so universally condemne, but not utterly reject. For besides his eloquent stile, and the sweet dialect of the Ionique phrase, we shall find in him many remembrances of Antiquity: and to speake freelie, in his latter bookes divers things most truly reported.

Therefore not to be deceived in our choise, let those be imbraced, who are by all allowed, especially in those times wherein they lived, and were Actors in the affaires. Of which ranke in my judgement, are Thucydides, Sallust, Xenophon, Comines, Guicciardin, Cæsar, and Sleidan. Neither is it materiall that the Athenians accused Thucydides, of affectionate partiality towards the Lacedemonians: for heereby being an Athenian and not a Lacedemonian, they added to his credit. And besides, the man had bin imployed in divers Imbassies and commands in the Peloponesian war; was rich, nobly discended, had to do in all affaires of state, maintained Intelligencers, and lastly wrote of their actions, who then lived, and that in a free state: who would call such an Author, or such an Historie, into suspition? Neither did his favour towards the Lacedemonians so drowne the remembrance of his owne Countreymen, but that he gave them their due praises. And although he were by them cast into banishment, when he wrote his History, yet he not onely cleared his onely adversarie and exile worker Pericles from publicke obloquy, but being dead thought him so praise-worthy for his politicke government, that he doubted not to prophesie, but that with his death the state would fall into a present declination: yet Diodorus sticketh not secretly to carpe at the method of his Orations, as doth Trogus Pompeius (witnes Justine) against Livy and Sallust: saying, That they exceeded the bounds of History, by inserting their direct and indirect Orations. For (as Cicero saith) nothing can be more pleasing in History then simple and significant brevity.

Thucydides

But if we should go about to extract from Livy al his

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Orations, we should leave him but smal fragments; which reason, Caligula pretended for defacing his portraiture, and removing his writings out of all Libraries; which in truth to me seemeth in some sort tollerable, for that he himselfe protesteth in his one and fortieth booke, that hee determined to write nothing but the Romaine Historie.

Sallust

Of Sallust we can define nothing, because all his workes are almost lost: by those which remaine, wee cannot denie, but that he was a most sincere Author, and deepe Statist. For he tooke paines to travaile into Affricke to be truelie informed of his *Bellum Jugurthinum*. And surelie he wrote freelie: for what could be more freelie spoken, then to censure the manifold sufficiencie of the whole Roman people then living, to consist in one onely Cæsar and Cato? So Thucydides attributed to Pericles his true and most deserved commendations: So did Sleidan his, to King Francis; to the Duke of Saxony, his; to Bellay, and Alasco, theirs, rejecting all odious comparisons. But if an Authour will needs discend into a bitter straine, then let him prove his assertions with pertinent Argumentes; for otherwise the world will grow into suspition that he hath written but upon heare-say. Which course Guicciardin, Plutarch, Machiavel, and Tacitus, have followed, whereby they have most clearelie laid open the secretest

Sleidan

projects and policies of divers Princes. As for Sleidan hee was King Francis his interpreter, and often imployed in Embassies by his Commonwealth: and being a Devine, his chiefe scope was to write of Religion, the totall verses whereof, as likewise the Orations (direct and indirect) hee included in as briefe a method as possibly he could: which to manie men seeme tedious; but to a spirit desirous to read antiquities, and to grow acquainted with matters of importance, nothing should be so taken. For in our Authors Annonius, Monstrelet, Froissart, and Carter you shal find a masse of levitie, but withall many thinges of notable Antiquitie in no case to be rejected; which you shall not find in Æmilius, who freely confesseth that he

hath wittinglie overpassed those things, which other men have written. Of the same mold are the histories of Leo Aser, Alvarasius, M. Gazus, which speake to all accidents, weighty, indifferent, triviall; therewith to satiate the itching eares of the curious. But this shall you seldome finde amongst the Greeke or Latine writers, who onely proposed to discourse of the actions of warre or peace, unlesse some memorable accident intervened; as with Livy, The burning of the Capitoll in the sociall warre; with Tacitus, That furious fire which consumed twelve wards of the Citty.

As for Prodegies, not the basest, but even the most famous writers have noted them, though flatlie incredible; as Cæsar himselfe; That in the civill warre, the statue did sweat at Tralles: a man otherwise neither fearing God, nor much regarding honesty. Herein Livy most religiously (I had rather say superstitiouslie) exceeded all others. For ye shal read of nothing so frequent, as how Oxen spoke, Vines burnt, Statues sweated, Stars fell from heaven; how God appeared to Hanniball: that a childe of six moneths olde, proclaimed a Triumph, and such like. These writers, Polybius tearmed Tragoedos, and not improperly: because they could not fetch Anniball out of Purgatory, they woulde bring downe the Gods on the stage by devises. But Polybius was an Atheist, and wrote verie unreverently of religion; the others are more charitably to be censured. For it were better to be superstitious, then irreligious, and more tollerable to adore some God, then to acknowledge no deitie.

In other mens praises Livy is also somewhat too prolix; for when he preferreth P. Sempronius before all others his Fellow-Citizens (wherein he offreth an apparant wrong to the residue) he reporteth him To have all the perfections that Nature or Fortune could possibly bestow upon Humanity. Nor heere ending, he proceedeth to amplifie particulers, as his discent, his wealth, his eloquence, his complexion, his age, his noble spirite, and militarie knowledge. Next him, hee elevateth Furius Camillus to the Heavens; Africanus higher; so that I see no man hath

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cause to wonder, why Augustus gave him the Epethite of Pompeianus, seeing he was excessive even above excesse in the praises of that Man. But in reprehension he was modest and grave; as in the contention between Marcus Livius and C. Claudius for the censorship, wherein the one most spightfully inveied against the other; It is an unseemely contention (saith he) where both parties depart the place with equal shipwracke of reputation. And in another place speaking of the ancient reverence of the Plebeians towards the Patricii: That modesty and carriage (saith he) which you shall now see in one, was in those times common to the Universall multitude. The like modesty he useth of Calvinus Companus: What! shall I tearme him wicked? No, but a Reprobate in the highest degree, who maketh choise to Tyranize, rather by his owne fall, then to behold the prosperity of his country.

This Author is not onely of one vaine through his whole worke, but ever like himselfe, of an understanding capacity, grave, spare in commending, bitter in reprehension, and like a politicke Law-maker and good Commander wrote worthily of Military and civill government, with the Office of an Historiographer. His histories intreat almost of al Nations which were of any reputation in his time, or somewhat before, (viz) from the CXXIIII. Olimpiad: that is, from the worlds Creation 3680. to the year three thousand seaven hundred, sixtie six, but of fortie Bookes which he wrote, foure and thirtie are lost. And as he was an excellent Historiographer, so was hee a verie good Phylosopher: for in the treatie of peace with the Carthaginians, he forewarneth the Princes and Governors of the state, to enter into speciall considerations, whether those with whom they were to confederate, were compelled thereto by necessity, or with desire of alliance. His sixt Booke aboundeth with the like observations, wherein he discourseth at large of the civill and militarie policie of the Romans. For the Topography of countries and places none of the Auncients came neere him. The blind ignorance of times and former Historiographers, who put many fabulous Narrations upon

the Romans, he often reprehendeth: as this one most shamefull out of T. Livius and Appian, who report, That Camillus defeated the Legions of the Galles, with such an Universall slaughter, that no one was left alive, to make report of the taking of the Citty.

Of the like error laboured Justine, Callimachus, and his Scholiasts, in their untrue suggestion, That Brennus having wasted Italy, led his Army into Greece, where it utterly perished by lightning from Heaven, for sacking the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, whereas Polybius proveth by forceable arguments, and conclusions of necessity, That after the foresaid army had burned the Citty, they travelled as farre as Hellespont, where being allured by the scituation of the Countrey, they seated themselves about Bizantium, and overthrowing the Thracians, possessed the Monarchy untill the times of Clayarus. Which can be no strange matter, considering that not long ago they tooke Bizantium with their Captaine Baldwin, and for a long time governed the Empire of the Græcians.

In our daies Jovius imitated Polybius as concerning the Generall Historie of his time, save heerein is the difference, that Polybius was either an Actor or Commander, or had the perusall of the publicke records: Jovius reported many things upon heare-say, and at adventure. Polybius was trained in the military discipline and offices of state, Jovius in neither. Polybius was a Noble man in his Countrey, Jovius a Plebeian: Polybius a Generall, Jovius a Physition The one reporteth, that hee had travailed thorough the greatest part of Europe, the Coast of Affricke, and Asia the lesse, to learne the customes of those different people. And to his own glorie: That he sate in the Vatican seaven and thirty yeares, was of Counsell to Scipio African, and his continuall associate in warre: Whereas the other, altogether kept company with Bishops: And beeing asked why he coyned false reports, and smothered true? he answered, For my friends sakes: saying, That if those that be now alive will not beleeve me, I am sure, those that come after, will affoord me, and my favourites, expected

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commendations. Gorraus of Paris hath dedicated this censure to Eternity: That the tales of Amadis are as true and probable, as the writings of Jovius: Had he fabled for the good of the state (which Xenophon and Plato do tollerate in Magistrates) it had bin passable: but lying to flatter, is unseemely for all sorts, but most vile in an Historiographer. For as Bessarius the Cardinall when hee saw verie many whose lives were questionable canonized at Rome through blind devotion, saide; hee doubted whether all were true which was related of the ancient Saints: so fabulous Historiographers are often an occasion, that those of desart are called into suspition.

If he would have imitated Polybius, he should have bin mindfull of his owne position set down in the Preface of his Histories: That he that swarveth from the truth of his project, pulleth out the eye of a most beautifull creature. How well he observed this admonition, we wil not make triall, by him, who tearmed him an Author of Tales, neither by Sleidan, nor Brutus Venetus (who often blame him for untruths) because the one was of a contrarie religion, the other peradventure excepted unto for imputation of Tirrany, but by Guicciardin the Parent of History and an Author without all exception. Whose relations if you please to compare with those of Jovius, you shall find them to agree as square proportions do with round, especially in their Orations, Epistles, Treaties, and Compositions: all which Jovius mouldeth out of his owne braine, but with such confusion of method, that even by the censure of Alciat (his only Trumpet) the unskilfullest souldiers have turned their tongues to Scholasticall declamations against him. I will overpasse the fond adhortation of Charles the Emperour unto him, Expedire te, inquit, Jovi, calamos oportet etc. As also his conference and Complaints with Jovius, which unto my apprehension seeme as true, as that Mulcasses should slay above two hundred Lyons; six hundred thousand of small Cattle to be pillaged out of the Territory of Brixium, and two hundred thousand of the greater sort to be driven out of France,

according to his report. The like he setteth downe concerning the Empires of the Persians, the Abessines, and the Turkes, which whither they were true or false he could never understand upon rumors and reports; and as for the Counsels of Princes, their speeches, their Letters, their instructions, or publick monuments, he never saw them, and yet notwithstanding he presumeth to write as confidently, as if he had bin interessed in the businesse.

Whereupon it is not to be doubted, but what hee might have written truely, hee would not; as the affaires of Italy; what he would, he could not, as the estates of forraine Princes. Never not but take it unkindly. Which rash protestation (in my fancie) he broched by the precedent of Arrianus, who thought himselfe by so much superiour to any Historiographer whatsoever, that writ the life of Alexander, by how much Alexander excelled all other Emperours. Surely this Arrianus was a man learned and wise, as appeareth by his Commentaries upon Epictetus; and moreover joyned experience to his reading, insomuch that Adrian Augustus for his singular sufficiency, preferred him to the Consulship, having run through all other inferiour offices, yea even in the integritie of the state. I will silence his eloquence and Attique phrase, which was so pure, that he was called a second Xenophon. Indeed if Jovius were in any tittle to be compared to Arrian, then had hee cause to take it in evill part to bee matched with others; which by his favour I meane to do it, not for that I will affirme that those thinges which he wrote were untrue and barren, but that for ever he shall carrie this eare-marke of falshoode, that where ever he writeth truely, he shall be accounted but a suspected Author; yea, with this one note, more satyricall, and of far greater indignity, That by prostituting his Labors to sale, his lies yeilded him better profit, then other men could gaine by speaking of the trueth. And so I will leave him, and returne to the Ancients, whom I will compare with our Moderne, and betweene themselves, as the lot falleth.

Arrianus

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Dionysius

The first man I meet withall is Dionysius Halicarnasseus, who besides his modest method of speech and his Attique dialect, wrote the Antiquities of the Romans from the Original of their Cities-foundation with such integrity, as no Græcian or Latine hath at any time done the like. For whereas the Latines neglected things triviall, as Sacrifices, Playes, Triumphs, Ensignes of Magistracies, the generall government of the state, Subsidies, Auguries, Parliaments, and the difficile division of the people into wards and Tribes; Lastly, the potencie of the Senat, the priviledges of the Commons, the Authoritie of Magistrates, and the power of the people, he in my judgement hath best performed them of anie man living. And to make them the more easie to bee understood, hee hath compared the customes of the Greeks with the Lawes of the Latines, deriving the priviledges of Clyents which Romulus instituted (and which Cæsar noteth to be common amongst the Gauls) from the Athenians and Thessalians; The Roman Dictator to be of equall power to the Harmoste of the Lacedemonians, to the Archon of the Thessalians and the Æsynmet of the Mytilens: yea, had it not bin for this mans labours, the Lawes of Romulus, Numa and Servius, together with the Original discent of the Romans, had bin long since buried in forgetfulnesse, through the pride of the Romans, who accounted and omitted these remembrances as base and vulgar (a fault almost common with al Authors) as if they were as well knowne to strangers, as to Natives.

Plutarch

The like diligence almost used Plutarch in his Roman Antiquities; what censure is to be given of him, I thinke everie man knoweth. For seeing he was the Schoole-maister of that excellent Prince Trajan, an ancient Courtier, and at last Governor of Istria, there is no question to be made, but he joyned practise and experience to his great wisedome. Hee wrote the Historie of the two most famous people of the world, not methodically and in order, but abruptly, and by way of Comparison. All that I admire in him is his so free opinion in al matters, that to me he seemeth

rather a censurer of Princes, then an Historiographer; yet with this submission to his worth, that if any man may be thought a fit Umpire in businesse of such weight, I hold him to be Plutarch, or no man. For what could be unknowne to a man of so high a reach, so deepe a judgement? Which are verie remarqueable in his most grave disputations of a Republicke, and his profound Philosophie. The Originall occasions of wars, their openings, their progressions, overthrowes, and victories, he handleth like an excellent Commander. And sometimes he discendeth to matters of meanest moment, even of houshold affaires; as is that remembraunce of Cato the Censor, who of purpose set enmitie betweene his servants, Least by their overmuch licentiousnesse, they should busie their braines about projects of farre worse consequence. The like he remembreth of Pericles, who accustomed to sell to the utmost advantage the revenues of his domaines, and to buy by the penny his daily provision. Oftentimes hee relateth thinges incredible and meerely fabulous, but he useth the worde *phasi*, to forewarne rash beleefe. As in the life of Lycurgus, he writeth, That a Lacedemonian Lad suffered the Rack even to death, rather then he would reveale the theft of a Fox: And that Agesilaus was amerced by the Ephori for populer dependancy.

That he sometimes committed an over-sight in the Antiquity of the Romans, for that, being a Græcian, and not perfectly understanding the Latine tongue, (as himselfe confesseth in the life of Demosthenes) he is to be borne withall. As where he writeth, that in Judgements Gracchus by the Law Sempronia equalled the Gentlemen with the Senators, when as by the same Law that prerogative was taken from the Senate, and absolutely transferred to the Gentlemen; as Velleius, Appian, Asconius, Tacitus and Florus testifie: It is apparant that he mistook Legem liviam *pro* Sempronia, and Gracchus for Drusus. The like fault he committed in valewing the Drachma with the Roman Denarius, and the Mina with Libra in the lives of Fabius and Anthony, which Aluaretius Budeus following,

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soone slipped into error; As hee could not choose, the quotient being false, etc.

Dio

For Dio who can make question of his excellency and sufficiency, beeing a man that spent his whole time in affaires of the state, and running through all the degrees of Office, was twice chosen Consull, and after that Proconsull; wherein he governed the Provinces worthily, and no doubt joyned experience to his great learning. He it was, that collected the order of their Dyets, their Magistracies, the course of their proceedings in law, the inauguration of their Princes, and the policies of their state. Yet seemeth he to strive of purpose, to maintaine the factions of Cæsar and Anthony, against Pompey and Cicero. And those prodegies which hapned in the borders of the Marconrani he attributeth to Arnulphus the Egyptian, and not to the Christians, whereat Turtullian, Eusebius, Orosius, Justine, Paulus Diaconus, and Marcus Aurelius himselfe contested, in his letters to the Senat. Many are of opinion that

Diodorus

Diodorus was matcheable unto him; many, that he deserveth precedencie; for my part I see no such reason, either for phrase (then which, nothing could be penned more vulgar) or for method of History. That whereof he meaneth to relate, he disposeth of truely, orderly and briefely, in the beginning of every booke: The proofe whereof you may find in his first booke, wherein he divideth his whole worke into fortie Bookes, and in six, includeth all the former time before the Trojan war; The eleven following beginning at the Trojan warre, end with the death of Alexander; the last four and twenty, discend to the wars of the Gauls. The which computation amounteth to about one thousand one hundred and thirty yeares, besides the reports before the Trojan war, which the Ancients deemed fabulous. From whence, to the return of the Heraclidæ (according to the account of Apollodorus) he numbreth XC. yeares: from thence to the first Olimpiad CCCXXVIII., from the first Olimpiad to the war of the Gauls DCCXXX. Likewise, he onely of al the Ancients, adjoynd unto his history the times wherein the most

eminent Philosophers, Poets, and Historiographers flourished. As in his fourteenth Book, he witnesseth, that Ctesias began his history at Ninus, Lysiades being Archon. He also collected together six bookes of this Author concerning the Empire of the Assyrians, and as many of the Persians, for the most part generallie discenting from Herodotus. Whose Authorities Plutarch, Pausanias, Athenæus, and almost all the Greeke Authors do also follow. To us is nothing remaining but an Epitome.

Thucydides

Thucydides (he saith) began his history (Charites being Archon, Q. Furius, and M. Papirius Consuls), (viz.) from the restoring of the Heraclidæ to the taking of Perinthus.

Theopompus

Theopompus began at the first year of Phillip King of Macedon, Calimedes being Archon, in the hundred and five Olimpiad (C. Genutius and L. Æmilius being Consuls). And for that which Diodorus reprehendeth in Theopomp, for the same may another reprehend Diodore. Of eight and fiftie Bookes (saith he) five are suspitious; So saith Vives, of forty of Diodors, we have scarse twelve remaining, five whereof are stuffed with such idle matter, that nothing was ever written more fabulous. And whereas he protesteth, to write an universall Historie, he onely discourseth of the Greekes; and that with such prolixity (that both forgetting his Laconique brevitie, and his objection of tediousnesse against Thucydides) he spendeth more Paper in reciting the Oration of one Gylippus a Lacedemonian, than in the whole history of the warres managed through Italy in three hundred yeares. His long digression upon the Pestilence at Athens, and the conjectures thereof, who can indure? His exposition upon the Lunary yeare is as absurd, whereby men were accounted to have lived one thousand and two hundred yeares, as though even in those Ages many of the Patriarchs did not exceed that limitation.

He avoweth, that he spent thirty yeares in travell, and writing his Historie: which if it bee true, then can I not but marvell why he wrote the affaires of Italy, the next adjoyning Countrey so slenderly, considering he lived in the times of the Romans highest prosperity (viz.) in Cæsars

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Dictator-ship. For if you compare him to Livy or Dionysius, you shall find them varying almost in all places, but especially in their computation of their Fasti and Olimpiads, wherein hee is most incertaine. Which peradventure might be occasioned through his defect in the Latine tongue, apparantly manifest in writing everywhere Phourios for Furius, as if the Orthography had bin al one. And as for writing Ancus Horatius for Marcus, Sp. Manius for Melius, Lactuca for Luctatius, Trigeminus for Tricostus, I could have imputed the error to the mistaking of the Printer, were not they Persons of Consular rank, Decemvirs and Tribunes, in the Catalogue of whom he sometimes overleapeth three, sometimes foure, etc.

But these mistakings are easily holpen by the studious labours of Charles Sigonius, and Onuphrius Panvinius, both worthily deserving the Epithites of learning for their exquisite searches of the Roman Antiquities.

Tacitus

Wherein Cornelius Tacitus hath likewise plaid the part of no lesse commendable an Author. For although he wrote the gests but of one Age, (viz.) from Tiberius to Nerva, yet omitted he neyther things of weightiest, indifferent, or of meanest consequence. In his fourth booke, though he protested to write neither of battailes, nor of taking of Citties, nor overthrowes of Armies, nor the contentions betweene the people and the Nobility; concluding it to be a worke thought inglorious, yet profitable. And by and by after (saith) we will annex cruell edicts, daily arraignments, hippocriticall friendships, destruction of Innocents, and the causes of these misfortunes. Yet describeth hee most fully, all the warres which happened in those times, wherein he was either a Commander or Actor. After the battaile of Actium no man penned the Art of Warre and pleading, in a larger method then he. For he spent the greatest part of his time in military services, and imployments of the Cittie, and being chosen Proconsull, he obtained the lower Germany: at which time he so perfectly and truely set downe the manners, Lawes and Customes of that Nation, that at this day the

Germans do attribute their Antiquities to one onely Tacitus. And to his greater glory, that Tacitus Augustus, who for his excellent wisedome was created Emperour by the Universal consent of the Lords and the Legions, derived his discent from this our Author, and filled all Libraries with as manie of his workes as were remaining unperished. In method of discourse he is marvellous short, sententious, and full of wisedome : as appeareth for a tast by these few insuing sentences.

What could be pronounced with more brevity and more bitternesse, then to say of Scianus ? That no man could stand in his good grace unlesse hee made his way thereto by villanie. What of Poppea ? That shee put no difference betweene married men and Adulterers, but there settled her fancy, where she saw most profit arising. The Blockishnesse, the incontinencie and drunkennes of Vitellius, he inveyeth against most bitterly ; but indeed nothing could be spoken bitter inough against such a person ; who besides the manifold imperfections of his nature, perswaded the Lords to establish the Lawe of incest, and Married the Uncle to his Sisters daughter. One day walking amongst the dead bodies of slaughtered Cittizens, when he saw every man to loath that intollerable stench : Oh ! saith he, The dead enemy savoureth sweete, but the Cittizen sweeter.

If you will have his opinion of Lawes and Government, what could bee more gravely spoken, then to say : That every great Magistrate ought to be acquainted with somewhat that was evill, thereof to make use to the common good. Plato differed not much from this assertion ; They may as well go about to cut off all Hydraes heads (saith he) as to take away al Imperfections from Lawes.

If you desire to looke into the method of pleading, the Office of a Senator, or the Antiquities, not of the Romans onely, but of many other Nations, you shall no where find so plentifull a Harvest. What should I say ? Onely this, that for men of eminency, Magistrates and Judges, no Historiographer, can be read with like profit.

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And therefore it grieveth me, that some few have censured him with reprehension, whome I would not stand to refute, were not their Authorities of good credit. As Alciat, who was so unadvised as to call his truely praiseworthy History, Thorny, or over-growne with Briars, in that Epistle which he wrote to Jovius.

The next are those, who cannot relish him for his hard phrase, but they are such, who had rather be alwaies plodding upon easie and trifling studies, then erect their spirits to be perfect in those grave relations, which statesmen and Princes have ante-acted, to future profit and example. As for Alciat, I see not, why he should contemne an Author so generally allowed, and himselfe notwithstanding boast of his owne eloquence, unlesse for that Decius blotting his name out of the Roll of the Lawyers, notwithstanding called him Ceceronian; as Jerom writeth, that he was scourged before the Tribunal of Christ, for that he wrote like a Ciceronian, not like a Christian. However Jerom did suffer, sure I am Tacitus doth suffer his hard censure without desert. But let this passe for a jest. Budæus with no lesse bitternesse, tearmeth him of all writers the wickedest, because he wrote oprobriously against the Christians, which was the reason indeed (as I think) that moved Turtullian to call him Lier; Orosius Flatterer.

But as Marcellus answered the younger Cato, that a light woman did ever evill in doing light, but not evill in taking her hire being once light: So Tacitus, in that he was not a Christian, did evilly; but wrote not evilly against Christians, being (as he was) an Heathen. I for my part shoulde have censured him wicked, if whatsoever Religion he adored, he had not laboured to maintaine it with the overthrow of the opposite; especially when he saw the Christians and Jews, as Sorcerers and men defamed for Adulteries and other heynous crimes daily drawne to execution; what Historiographer could have moderated his pen?

For ignorance, if any Author may be excused, then surely

may Tacitus, for fetching Judæos, from Ida a Mountaine in Creet, quasi Idaos; As well as Nicholaus Damascenus for deriving Hierosolyma quasi Jerosoula, pera for Jera sulein. Well, if he deserve so heavie a censure for this fault, what shall we determine of Ulpian, who wrote seaven Bookes *De torquendis Christianis*, and those not to teach knowledge, but to devise exquisite torments?

Tranquillus must likewise undergo the very same censure, where he discourseth of the Christians, and yet hath it bin his good hap for the residue of his Historie to carrie this report amongst the judicious, That never was anything better written by any Historiographer. Some men are displeased for his recittall of base and triviall matters; but such should remember, that amongst the actions and speeches of Princes, nothing ought to seeme light, nothing unworthie observation, beecause they live in the eye of the multitude, and according to their precedents the world will be conformable. That he tooke too much paines in perticuler penning the incontinencies of Princes, which Tacitus omitted, I will not excuse him. Tranquillus

But in this over-sight Lampridius did excell him. For he relateth so many bestiall sorts of pleasures devised by Heliogabalus, and those in such open tearmes, that he seemeth to have penned them rather for Imitation, then Narration. Both of them served in the privy Counsels of Princes, but especially Tranquillus, who was Secretarie to Adrian, and deprived thereof, for being more familiar with the Emperors wife, then the custome of Court-like modestie could endure. The residue that wrote the lives of the succeeding Emperors, as Dio, Spartianus, Capitolinus, Herodianus, Trebellius, Vopiscus, Eutropius, Lampridius, Volcatius, Ammianus, Pomponius Lætus, Orosius and Sextus Aurelius, were not so highlie imployed in the state, as was Lampridius, which Vopiscus doth freely confesse, calling him a most refined Author, and truly. For these are his words: Hee was a man neither proude of his place, nor given to vice, nor swayed by passion.

He writeth, that Caligula in the beginning of his raigne

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was as compleat a Prince, both for giftes of minde and bodie, as none more compleat, but afterward proved so unsatiate a licentiat in all sortes of vices, that no monster in Nature could be comparable unto him. So likewise he relateth the excellent first five yeares of Nero; and then discourseth, how Claudius was of so blockish a spirit, that even the basest at the Barre would call him Foole, sitting upon the seat of judgement: and lastlie, amplyfieth that notable Judgement of the Emperour, before whom a woman being brought, which would not acknowledge her owne childe, with Arguments inforced on both sides so strong and doubtfull, that hardly any man could tell what to determine; by commanding the woman to marrie the young man, she confessed the truth. What could have bin more wisely decided by Salomon himselfe, the Maister of wisedome?

Herodian

The like industry for truth was not in Herodian, though he had the meanes, but for that which he wrote, he is often noted of error by Spartianus and Capitolinus.

Moreover, in Tranquillus you shall find many good instructions of the Roman Antiquities, their ancient customes, their lawes, their statutes, and such Edicts of the Senate, as no where shal you meet with the like. The royalties and prerogatives of their Princes onely he and Tacitus recorded.

Velleius Paterculus

The man whom we may match with Tranquillus, in my opinion is Velleius Paterculus, who besides his great learning, bore Offices of Honour both in the field and Citty. His sweet and elegant phrase I will not speake to, but avow his method of brevity and perspicuity (if wee had his whole workes) in relating the Roman Antiquities from utmost memory to be such, as therein second to no man he ought to be judged. His Orations in the praises of Men of Marke, are excellent and worthy himselfe, as you may read in his Encomions of Pompey, Cæsar, Cicero, which were not written as pertinent to the scope of his history, but by way of preface to the understanding of his history.

Bellay

Wherein G. Bellay viceroy of Naples, in a litle Booke of

his, concerning the antiquities of the Gaules hath imitated his method, and hath left an excellent precedent for future Historiographers to behold and follow. He wrote likewise in Latine and French the expedition of Charles the fifte into Province; a work ful of wit and wisedome: as he could not otherwise do, being quicke of conceit, well learned, and fully experimented in affaires of state: wherein he spent his whole time, either imployed in Counsell, in Ambassies, or in command of Armies: his vacant houres he dedicated to the Muses. Insomuch, that amongst the French Nobility, this glorie ought onely to be his; That he was the first man which gave weapons to Learning, and Learning to weapons. But because no man shal accuse one being his Countryman (for he was of Anjou) of flattery let him believe that Sleidan hath spent much more paper in his commendation; upon whom, when he had said al he could to his highest praise, he gave this testimony; That hee was onely worthy to bee called, Gallicæ nobilitatis Decus. Wherefore let him march in ranke with Polybius, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cæsar, and Tacitus, for that he examined with an unstaind pen the reasons of accidents, their beginnings, their ripenings, their ends, and with them their policies, their actions, their Orations. For the Objection that he wrote but litle, that is not material in choise of history, since every man may judge a Lyon by his claw. Next copious Guicciardin presenteth himself, whom I would have said, had wrote in imitation of the former, had they not bin living at one time. And although he never travelled further then Italy, neither was matchable to Bellay in militarie imployments, yet notwithstanding by the generall verdict of many grave men, he is adjudged to ante-cede all modern Historiographers, if not the Ancient. For whatsoever falleth within compasse of question, be it never so intricate, there sheweth he an admirable finenesse of wit in discoursing upon accidents, every where interlacing grave sentences to good purpose: As in one place, he covertly taxeth the French of improvidence, for invading Provinces like tempests, but keeping

Guicciardin

and maintaining them like faint-harted Cowardes: giving them to understand, that militarie acquisitions were not onelie unprofitable unto them, but likewise burdensome and full of losse. A saying worthie so grave an Author, and fit to be thought upon by all intruding Princes. In another place he glanceth at the over-weening conceits of the Venetians in these words. The Venetians (saith he) all Italy being in a flaming fire, sat still, and without moving expected the issue of the warre, and their portion of prey, as if no man durst to have offended their Wisedomes. But a temporizer ought to be superior in force, or els to run the same course that the strongest doth. The which reprehensions have in them no gall, no obloquy; neither used hee to praise or dispraise any man before hee were deade, and that without affection or flattery. As was manifest in Pope Leo, by whose favours he purchased great wealth, Honour, and advancement. For he elected him Generall of the Ecclesiasticall forces, and chief Commander through his whole Territories: And yet he giveth him this censure, That hee was a Prince indowed with many Vertues, and as many vices. And of all writers he alone relateth his inconstancie, in confederating first against King Francis, and after playing the Foxe with Charles the Emperour; that when by his helpe he had throwne the French out of Italy, he mought the easiler have dealt with the Spanish. Againe, what could be more truely spoken of Ferdinand, that coloured all his unsatiable desires, with pretences of Religion, and the common good? Another argument of his integrity and unpassionate disposition, was his refutation of Paulus Jovius his Oration *de morbo gallico*, in favour of the French; with whom hee had good cause to have bin offended, for the hard siege they gave him at Placentia, wherein himselfe and his whole fortunes were ingaged, had he not valiantly defended the place. Reason it is (saith he) to disburden the French of the infamy of this disease, when as the Spanish brought it into Italy from the westerne Islands. Such was his love, such his care, to write nothing but truth!

And therefore he either setteth downe nothing at adventure, or what he setteth downe, hee proveth with reasons of necessity. For it is reported that he had the transcripts of all Letters, Decrees, Confederacies, Treaties, and Orations; and therefore boldly used these words, Such a one spake in this manner: or where he was doubtfull, Such a one spake to this or like purpose; wherein hee is altogether different from Jovius, who as he devised a great part of his History, so coined he out of his owne braine (as scholars use to do their Scholasticall declamations) all his Orations. A presumption most manifestly appearing by the Oration of Baylon, which Guicciardine extracted out of the Originall copie, and relateth cleane contrary to Jovius.

Besides, he was so diligent a searcher of Actions, persons, places, and counsels, that he seemed to have travelled, through all the Citties, Borroughs, Castles, and rivers of Italy, and (which is most effectuall) to have perused their publique Records.

What ever was reported by the vulgar, hee never omitted; but noted it as he found it; As in the battle of Maurit where the French defeated the Swizzers; wherein he could not avouch certainely what numbers were slaine, Because (saith he) some spake upon envy, some upon favour, and others upon heare-say: many reported XIIII. thousand, as many ten thousand: Some eight thousand, and others but three thousand. His historie of Italy containeth the tearme of fortie yeares; what was without the bounds thereof, he toucheth sparingly and in measure. The wars of the Turkes and Persians, though his intelligence was much better then Jovius, hee wittingly let passe, least by affirming things of doubtfull certaintie, he should incurre suspition; yet, that they should not altogether be in ignorance, he remembreth them lightlie, in this maner: It was reported that Selimus invaded Syria and Egypt.

Some men note him of prolixity: but those, who either upon love or occasion, are desirous to read affaires of state, and the vicissitude of wordlie occurrants, let them never

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grow wearie of that fault; because no part of the universall earth, presented more novelties, more alterations, then Italy alone did in those times. And how easie a matter it was for him to write truelie, who by the generall suffragies of the Italian Nation, was indowed with singuler wisedome, learning, integritie, and experience, who knoweth not? For without doubt, sithence some men wrote one thing, some another, and everie one after his owne fancie, we cannot but make reckoning, that it proceeded from divine providence, amongest such a rapsodie of pen-men, to find one whose credite soared so high, as utterlie to ecclipse, if not to extinguish, not onelie the blind lights of vulgar fellowes, but also the impostures of Jovius and Bembus.

Bembus

For although Bembus were a man of good place, eloquent, and long imployed in the generall affairs of Italy, yet surelie wee must say, that he wrote manie things in favour of his Cittizens otherwise then truth, or else suffer Guicciardine to be convinced of manie an untruth. Of which disputable imputation, let this one precedent sway for either. After the French had utterly broken the Venetians at Fornoue, and as the report went, had purchased their way by the sword, Bembus concludeth, that they neither overthrew, nor were overthrown, but disgraceth their returne into Fraunce, by the reproachfull name of a flight. Which Guicciardine more Soldier-like relateth in this manner: If it may be accounted victory, to bring our desires to their wished ends, then surely the French were victors, because they undertooke the battell to no other end, but to bring the King in safety into France, which they performed. And therefore, sithence they rowted their enemies, whereof some fell by the sword, and others were drowned in the river Tarus, who would demand other tokens of victory? In the battell of Ravenna, Bembus likewise dissembleth the truth; the honour of which daies journey no man hetherto denyed the French. For (saith he) of common souldiers and Horsemen, there were on both sides above eighteene thousand slaine; each party suffered like losse, but each party injoyed not like fortune.

Wherefore in that he tearmeth the Venetians the Bulwarke of Italy, and the Ornament of the Christian Commonwealth, magnifying their Justice, their faith, their greatnesse and power ; yea, and the incredible pompe and strength of every Venetian gally against the Turke, together with the Religion, modesty, and piety of every private Cittizen, I say, I can affirme nothing more true, then that hee plaide the part of a good Cittizen, and not of a good Historiographer. That everie where he taunteth the French, for their inconstancie and breach of oath with the Venetians and Alfonsus Avila, that humour more discommendeth himselfe, then his enemy. For, if it be infamous by the Lawe of armes, for a souldier to revile an adverse Nation, how much more disgracefull is this humour in an Historiographer, especially if in that, whereof he accuseth another, he himselfe be guiltie. As without doubt, they were of that accusation, which Guicciardin layeth uppon the Venetians for breach of the league. Whom he accuseth not with suspitions of double dealing, but flatly affirmeth, That they received into their Cittie Avila, even then triumphing over the French, and their sworne enemie. And that more is, did what they could to include him in the league, the King of France being most unwilling thereto. That therefore which hee writeth Oratour-like of the unfaithfulnesse of the French, may goe as currant as his relation, That during the Venetian warre in Apulia, such Armies of Crowes and Vultures combated in the Aire, that twelve Carts were numbred to bee loden with their dead bodies. Of which report Bembus speaketh not doubtfully, but with much confidence.

By his owne Testimony, he was threescore years old, when he began to write his Historie, at which age, hee could hardly endure to take that paines, which we do expect in an Historiographer. His owne words are : I am weary to set downe the matters of smallest moment in that warre. And againe, Who can endure to read all without tediousnesse ? These are meerly the phrases of Orators, as was also the Oration of Lauredan against Minius, savouring of

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the same affectation; wherein hee stood so precisely upon the purity of a word, that if it were not true Grammer, he would refuse it, were it never so significant. The Emperour of Turkes he woulde stile King of Thrace, being scarcely the twentieth part of his Kingdome: and the Duke of Millaine, King: If he did it for phrase sake, in my Opinion he did worse for sence sake.

Procopius

But Procopius was farre unlike Bembus; for it should seeme, that he neither neglected, or understood not the method of History, nor the elegancie of the Greek tongue, but related the bare accident with diligent observation of thinges of small moment. And for that he alwaies accompanied Bellisarius in Action, was of his Counsell, imployed in divers Embassies, and indifferent wel learned, I make no doubt to ranke him with the best. And againe, I could not but allow him the credit of a most true Authour, because he setteth downe the Letters, the Counsels, the leagues, and Orations in divers and different stile of speeches (infallable arguments of true relations) but that he remembreth his Bellisarius somewhat more often, then modesty may warrant, and that manie times very foolishly.

And yet no where so foolish, as where he excuseth the murder of Constantianus, maister of the Horse to Justinian the Emperour, procured by Bellisarius, and would have the worlde beleeve, That the destinies and not his Maister had decreed, that Constantianus should die in that manner. His conjectures of the thirty Hogges and the Statue of Theodorus, I reckon as childish; As also his dimension of Thule to be twice as great as Brittaine, being indeed not so, by halfe. But his report, that Vesuvius, scituated on this side Naples, should disgorge ashes, which with the wind were carried as farre as Bizantium, passeth all beliefe, being prodigies altogether savouring of Græcian levity, wherein the Heathen Historiographers, are not onely to be taxed, but likewise, the Ecclesiasticall.

Nicephorus

Nicephorus Calistus is stuffed with like Fables, and Zonoras, otherwise an allowable Author, with Nicephorus Gregoras, are of the same straine, and now and then

Eusebus Cæsariensis: As where with eagernesse of protestation, he affirmeth that he saw, a plant grow of his owne accord at the base of a piller, whereupon a brazen Statue of Christ was erected, by the woman cured of her issue of blood and dedicated to our SAVIOUR three hundred yeares before. Which as soone as by growth it had touched the extreamest hem of the Statues ingraven garment, it proved to cure al maner of diseases.

The like estimate ought to be had of the workes of Antoninus, Adonis, Saxo Grammaticus, Sigisbert, Phriculphus, Nauclerus, Marianus, Merlin, Urspergensis, Annonius, Turpin, Guaguin, and such like old Annales; which notwithstanding we cannot utterly want, and of these too, some are better then other. For although Gregory Turenensis, Antonius Florentine, Gulielmus Bishop of Tire, and Abbas Urspengensis, relate many prodigious miracles, yet amongst them shall you find verie profitable and good observations, especially for those times, which as a man may say, were overwhelmed with Barbarisme. For they were men long and much imployed in affaires of state and publicke Counsels; And therefore it may wel beseeme us amongst their Garbish, to cul out their best annotations, as men doe Golde out of Rockes and Rubbish; especially where better are not to bee had.

As for the Historie of the Tartars, if you wil not credit Paulus Venetus and Haiton, then must you almost beleeve no man. And that which they wrote, is but little, and full of Fables; but of the two, Haiton is the truer. P. Venetus writeth, that the Caspian Sea is alwaies without Fish, except on fasting daies: that Quinzay containeth in circuit seaventy miles, and hath twelve thousand bridges, under which, For their concavitie, Ships under saile may passe, and repasse. The Acts, Customes, Lawes, and Religion of the Tartars you must understand where you can.

P. Venetus

Haiton

The state of Æthiopia F. Alvarus hath written with better integritie and more warinesse, being since confirmed by Straungers, good Authors, and late Travellers, and with great delight to bee perused.

F. Alvarus

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The late Histories of the Gothes, Saxons, Nervians, Sarmatians or Polonians and Danes, Zeglerus, Cromerus, Crantzius and Olaus have published; al except Olaus very probable Authors, who now and then telleth wonders: whereof manie, by the Testimony of Authors and good witnesses may induce perswasion; as the metamorphosing of men into wolves, once set downe by the Authoritie of Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, and the Ancients, and nowe againe verified by the Moderne. Which Gaspar Pencer, a man of great Learning, well advised, and one that had travelled through most partes of Europe, did signifie unto me, that hee heard it crediblie reported by the Inhabitantes to bee true. Which whether it bee a secret of Nature, as is storied of Parrhasius, or an influence of Divine punishment, as it is recorded of Nabuchadnezar, I cannot yet resolve.

Leo Afer

After Alvaresius followeth Leo Afer, and for similitude of subject, I will compare him to Pomponius, Strabo, and Pausanias, whome I will hence-forward tearme Geographistorici, for their Geographicall method of Historie. Strabo lightly toucheth the kingdomes and Common weales of the whole world, Pausanias onely the Provinces of Greece, but so exactly describeth their greatnesse, their declinings, the inhabitants, the Citties, Castles, Rivers, Hilles, Springs, Temples, and statues, that by al mens opinions in that kind, he challengeth precedency. So Leo Afer, by birth a Moor, by habitation a Spaniard, first a Mahumetan and afterward a Christian, after he had Travailed almost the better part of Affricke, Asia the lesse, and a good portion of Europe, was taken Prisoner by Pirats, and presented to Pope Leo. During the tearme of which captivity, he translated into the Italian tongue these remembrances, which with infinite toile, hee had gathered in the Arabian language concerning Affrica, the customes, lawes, and divers people thereof, with the scituation and description of the whole Region. The art military he seldome toucheth, but the overthrowes of their Kings, given and taken, he briefely relateth, without Orations or

ornament of stile, Geographically, not Historically, and yet with pleasing delight of noveltie, he consineth his unwilling Reader to studious perseverance. He thrusteth upon us no great impossibilities, unlesse it be the admirable docility of the Egyptian Asse, of which himselfe was an eye-witnesse. Likewise, that the tailes of certaine Sheepe of Egypt, shoulde weigh some fiftie pound, some one hundred and twentie pound: It is the report also of Bellonius, Hieronimus, and Cardanus. At a word, hee onely of all men hath discovered that Nation, which lay buried in ignorance and Barbarisme a thousand yeares before his time.

Next after him approcheth F. Leandrus and S. Munster; the former described Italy, the other all Germany as lively to viewe, as if it were in Maps or Tables, adjoyning thereto the History of the various fashions and maners of the people. But Munster had done well, if he had turned his Cosmographiam into Germanographiam, being indeed nothing else to speak on, save a particular description of Germany and Helvetia, their scituations, people, and discent.

But as our Geographistorici mingled Topography with story; so our Philosophistorici beutified their Narrations of Action with precepts of wisedome. In which kind, great is the praise of Xenophon, yea, the greater, in that he had no precedent to imitate (as Velleius witnesseth of Homer) nor none that shall be able to imitate him. Nearest approacheth Plutarch, then Laertius, and thirdly Philo Judæus, betweene whom and Plato the Ancients in my judgement gave a most true censure.

Xenophon

Equall unto these is Josephus; or if inferiour in secrets of Philosophy, farre superiour in the searches of Antiquitie. At which Jerom doth wonder, that such exquisit knowledge of the Græcian discents, should be found in a man of the Jewish Nation. But the reason thereof is apparant in his Bookes against Appian the Grammarian, wherein he so verifieth the writings of Moses (though sufficient-full of credit themselves) by the authorities of the Græcians,

Josephus

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the Persians, the Egyptians and Chaldæans, that nothing can be read with more profit, by those who are desirous to studie Antiquities. The Ages of the old world related by Moses, he confirmed by the Testimonies of twelve Historiographers, to take away all scandall of incredulity. The Auncestry, faith, Religion, learning and integritie of his Countrey-men, He not onely preferreth before all Nations, thereby to revive the ecclipsed honor thereof, but also doth his utmost to redeeme from oblivion and opposition, things of undoubted veritie. For by his writings, the Fables of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Justine, are easily to be refuted.

Hegesippus

After him, Hegesippus a Jew, wrote five Bookes of the Jewish wars, which Ambrose by report turned into Latine. But Josephus wrote better and truer, because hee was both in Action and command, and being prisoner to Vespasian and Titus: Notwithstanding by their favours purchased the freedome of the Cittie, and the Honour of a Statue. For in him were invested those good parts of an Historiographer, which we have mentioned before, (viz.) great learning, unpassionate integrity, and experience of affaires. His integritie is apparant in this; That being a Jew, he gave notwithstanding a grave, reverent, and laudible Testimonie of Christ; whereas our Ecclesiasticall writers discoursing upon the adversaries of our Religion, are so farre transported with Envie, that they not onelie conceal their deserved commendations, but also disgrace them with most opprobrious and undecent railings. Whereof, let Julian the Apostate be the plaintife, who though he were worthie both of blame and punishment, yet for those things which he performed with good commendation and honour, he ought not to be silenced by an Historiographer: wherein our writers have generally faulted: And certes,

Ammianus

should rather have imitated Ammianus Marcellinus his method and ardent desire of delivering *in utramque partem* nothing but truth: who after he had committed the never-dying vertues of Princes to memory, then proceeded to display their vices, as everie good Author ought to do.

And the accusations which he laid upon Julian, were, that he mingled old Heathnish superstitions with the unspotted and simple (for those be his words) religion of the Christians: that he bereft them of all helps of learning, and cruely commanded the Countes Palatines of Constantius to be murdred. These were his vices; His excellent vertues, as his temperance, his fortitude, his continency, his favour to wisedome, and his Justice above opinion, he proveth by action and witnesse. As in this one example for many. When Delphidius Gallus (a most sharpe Orator) had accused Numerius President of Narbon in France, then lying at Paris, and was urged to bring forth his proofes and witnesses: Most mighty Cæsar (saith he) what man will ever be found guilty, if his bare deniall be sufficient to cleare him? To whom Cæsar answered, And what man shall ever depart innocent, if one mans accusation should suffice to condemne him?

This Ammianus was a Grecian, a Knight, and a follower of Ursicinus, maister of the horse in all the warres almost, which in those times were managed by the Romans in Europ, or Asia. His workes remaine whole, and digested into eighteen Bookes, beginning at the thirtieth yeare of the Emperor Constantius, and ending with Valens. The other thirteene are easie to be added out of other mens writings. He had begun at Nerva where Tacitus ended, and whom of all men he resolved to observe and imitate. Onely heerein is the difference, that Tacitus (according to the times) had a speciall regard of the Roman elegance, but Ammianus used Italian phrases and sometimes neither Latine nor Romaine, but plaine Greeke. He much and often digresseth from the maine history, a disease whereunto even the greatest Authors are much inclined; and whereof Possidonius doth grievously complaine against Cicero. But Ammianus regarding the matter more then the phrase, salveth that Objection against himselfe in this manner. In that (saith he) the text seemeth tedious, it profiteth our understanding to the ful: for whosoever affecteth overmuch brevity, where things of doubtfull

knowledge are related, seeketh after ease, but ripeneth not his judgment.

Wherefore amongst such divers and different variety of Authors, it is most necessarie, for every man to make a true and advised choise of that learning whereunto his study standeth most adicted, least in this small and short leisure of life, he seeme not to have read much, and yet in points of ambiguity cannot determine with himselfe upon what to resolve.

As if he be throughly perswaded of Polydor for the affaires of England (although he be suspitious to the Scots and French), of Rhenanus for the Historie of Germany, and Æmilius for the state of France, then shall he need to take no great paines in Beda, Guagan, Gacus, Saxo, and such like, who handled the said Histories without method or order: and no marvel; for as those Times afforded great plenty of writers, so their credits and reputations quickly vanished. Plutarch reckoneth up three hundred that wrote the battaile of Marathon. And of thirty that committed to print the affaires of Italy, one onely mans credit and good method, have quite put the residue to the horne.

In these times the world swarmeth with such as commit to writing things of base and vulgar Argument, whereas in times of greatest antiquity wee had almost none. And therefore because it were a labour infinite, to peruse every mans papers, let the Judicious Reader, out of manie, make choise of the better, by the assistance of these directions, (or by better of his owne, if he can) which we have heere before described.

Thus much for choise of History, which I avow not so positively to have published, but that therin I am content to leave every man to his free election.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIES OF SALLUST

A BREVIAT OF THE HISTORIE

NUMIDIA,[1] contayneth that part of Affrick, wherein Massinissa the faithfull friend and confederate of the Roman people, sometime raigned. This Massinissa had three Sonnes; Micipsa, Manastaball and Gulussa. Manastaball and Gulussa died; by whose death the Kingdome entirely descended to Micipsa. Micipsa had issue, Adherbal and Hiempsal; Jugurth, he fostered as the Sonne of his Brother Manastabal, for that his Grand-father Massinissa had left him unadvanced, as his base Grand-Childe begotten on the body of a Concubine. The man was ambitious, well qualified, of a ready wit, and great spirit, elder then Adherbal or Hiempsal. In jealousie whereof, Micipsa, fearing that if he should die during the minority of his children, their Cousin Jugurth might happen ambiciously to usurpe the Kingdome, resolved to oppose him to daungerous adventures, in hope by these meanes to see him miscarry.

About the same time it happened, that the Romans, under the conduct of Scipio, besieged Numantia in Spaine, whereunto Micipsa sent certaine Regiments of Horse and foote, under the commaund of his Kinsman Jugurth, their Generall; making full account in this journey, to heare newes answerable to his plotted desseignements, but Fortune had otherwise decreed: for in this war, the reputation of Jugurth more and more increased; yea, he made so many faire proofes of his valour in this Action, that

[1] Now the Realm of Tunis in Barbary.

A BREVIAT OF THE HISTORIE

Scipio not only commended him in a publicke Oration, but (the warre ended, and Numantia razed) he invested him with many military honors; by his Letters commending his service to Micipsa, in very worthy and honourable tearmes, which bred so sodaine an alteration in the King, that whereas before, he fully minded his destruction, hee now wisheth and intendeth nothing so much as his welfare and advancement; adopteth him his Sonne, and shortly after dying, left him Co-heire with his Children, throughout his whole estates and dominions. After whose disease, the three Roytelets, Adherbal, Hiempsal and Jugurth, devising with themselves about the portion of the Kingdome, Jugurth trayterously slayeth Hiempsal, the younger of the twaine, and casting in his haughty mind, how by the death of the other, he might become sole Lord of the whole, firmely resolveth to levy an Army, wherewith he giveth the overthrow to the elder brother Adherbal. Who after this defeature, flyeth to Rome, and there aggravating his Brothers death, his owne banishment, and Jugurths treasons, beseecheth aid of the Lordes of the Senate. The Lords accord, and send tenne Commissioners into Affricke, to make division of the Kingdome betweene them: who had no sooner ended the businesse, and turned their backes, but Jugurth entertayned his former practises, and anew invadeth his Brothers portion with warre and slaughter. To represse this his insolency, Adherbal of meere necessitie is driven to levy an Army, and to march against Jugurth, but is againe overthrowne, and with a few Horsemen in his company forced to fly unto Cirtha, whether Jugurth advaunceth his forces, and besiegeth the Citty. Hereof Adherbal by Letters certifieth the Lordes of the Senate, giving them to understand, uppon what desperate tearmes his estate depended, how hee was deprived of his kingdome by Jugurth, and forced by warre and famine to undergoe such utmost extremities, that long time he was not able to make good the place of his refuge, even the sanctuary of his life: That his adversary little regarded the censures of the Senat: finally, that they would vouchsafe to send

him potent and speedy succours. Upon the opening of these Letters many gave their opinions, in favour of the distressed estate of Adherbal, but others corrupted by the Numidian, advised rather to send Commissioners unto Jugurth, with authority to commaund him in the name of the Lordes and people of Rome, to abstaine from farther violence. Jugurth gave these Commissioners during their imployment in Affricke, faire language and faithfull protestations, but after their departure fell afresh to his former projects. Whereupon, the besieged, desire Adherbal to pitty the estates of so many innocent people in the Towne, that seeing he could not otherwise provide for his safety, that he would yeelde the place upon assurance of his life onely. Which being granted, and the towne surrendred, without respect of oath or kindred, Jugurth falsifieth his Faith, and cruelly murdereth his innocent Brother. The newes whereof much disquieted the Lordes of the Senate, and therefore they posted away Lucius Calphurnius Bestia (the Consull) with an Army into Affricke, to give stop to his further proceedings: but he being corrupted by Jugurth, instead of punishing the Traitor, concluded a most dishonourable peace. Wherewith the Lordes of the Senat being much more moved then before, dispatched away Albinius the Consull, with order and authority to represse the Traytors insolencies: but him Jugurth so long deluded with promises and counterfeit demonstrations of submission and conformity, that the yeare beeing spent, without doing any thing, he was inforced to leave all as he found it, and to hasten to Rome against the day of election, nominating his brother Aulus Lieutenant of the Army and Province. This man, either on a foolish opinion to reap the glory of finishing this warre, or uppon avarice to fill his private Coffers, in January, in the depth of Winter, leadeth the Army into the open field. Jugurth quickly finding the insufficiency of this new Generall, pretending feare and cowardize, trayneth his enemy into woody and mountanous Countries; yea, and to colour his subtilty, sendeth his humble petition to the

A BREVIAT OF THE HISTORIE

Roman Generall, with offers of submission and satisfaction. The faster he fled, the more eager was Aulus in pursuit, untill Jugurth taking the benefit of time, and the advantage of the place, found easie meanes to rout the whole Romain Army. The day following, they fell to composition. First, that the Roman Prisoners should be dismissed *Sub jugum*: Secondly, the whole army within ten daies cleerly to depart the bounds of Numidia. This daunted the people, for the present, but gathering againe their spirits (notwithstanding the composition of Aulus, and his peoples overthrow) they dimitted Numidia to Metellus (the Consull) for his Province. This excellent Commaunder finding the Army corrupted by the remisse carriage of his Predecessors, first restored the Ancient discipline, and then by hazarding a set-battell with Jugurth, put him to the worse. After him, Marius (Consull elect) succeeded in this Province of Numidia, who persecuting the war with courage and good Fortune, utterly undid the Numidian, and getting him into his possession by policy, led him through Rome as a Captive, before his Triumphall Chariot.

THE
CONSPIRACIE OF CATELINE

WRITTEN BY

C. CRISPUS SALUSTIUS

THE
CONSPIRACIE OF CATELINE
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CHAPTER I

The Proëme

BY howe much Nature hath created Man the worthiest of all living Creatures, by so much, the rather ought [1] he by Vertuous exercises to Dedicate to eternity, some Record of his proficiency, and not to die in Scilence or Oblivion, like the Beasts of the field, whom God hath fashioned onely of a Servile condition,[2] fit for no project, but to feede the belly. Our sufficiency consisteth as well of a Soule, as of a Body; yea, more bountifully assisted by the Essence of the One, then any way advanced by the faculties of the Other. For of the First, we participate with the Goddes; the Second, we injoy in no fuller a measure, then every other Base Creature. Whereupon I dare be bolde to affirme, that it is more commendable to Labour in quest of glory by [3] Learning and good Artes, (considering the shortnesse of our daies bound, as I saide, to leave somewhat behind us to the eternizing of our remembrance) then to purchase Fame by the dependancies of Valour and Fortitude. For

[1] Pli. *Omni homini id faciendum est, quo se aliquando vixisse testetur.*
[2] *Paululum admodum sentiens præterita, aut futura.*
[3] Sen. *In omnia præmittendus est animus, cogitandumque, non quid solet, sed quicquid potest fieri.*

CHAPTER I

Riches and Strength of Body are fleeting and determinable : Vertue is onely permanent, and out-liveth Time.

But it hath been much questioned amongst divers sorts of men, whether[1] strength or Policy, in the Art Military, hath best ballanced the affaires : The conclusion whereof hath bin, that before Resolution, it is the wisest course to advise slowly, but after mature advice, to proceede roundly. Wherby it should seem, that the one, without the assistance of the other, can affoord no true safety. And therefore in Auncient time,[2] the Kings (for that was the first attribute of Honour in this worlde) did some, take delight in the contemplation of Wisedome, and the Vertues of the mind ; others in exercises of Activity and strength of bodie. For as yet the[3] Ambitious desire of Soveraignty, had not inthralled mens mindes to Covetize : every one passed his time with content of his private fortunes.

But after that Cyrus in Asia, and the Lacedemonians with the Athenians in Greece, began to force Cities, and to subdue Nations, then the love of Soveraignty became a just Title for Warre and invasion, and the largest Empire was inrolled for the most Honourable conquest. Even then, by dangers and occurrances, experience gave proofe, that Policy bore no small sway in Martial exploits.

But if the carriages of Kings and Princes bore like moderation in times of peace, as they affoord in Tempests of Warre, surely the estates of Kingdomes, and the affayres of this world would longer flourish, and be better governed. And then should we neither behold Usurpations, nor mixture of Nations, nor confusion of Languages : for it is doubtlesse true, that Kingdomes are safest maintained by those meanes, by which they were at first acquired. But where as Sloth is entertained insteed of Labor ; Lust, in lieu of Chastity,[4] and Pride maketh scorne of Æquity,

[1] *Alterum indiget auxilio alterius, corpus auxilio animi, et animus auxilio corporis.* [2] *Ut Trismegistus et Ptolomeus.*

[3] *Unde aurea secula feruntur sub Saturno fuisse.*

[4] *Hinc Catonem (aiunt) censuisse de Carthagine non delenda, ut inde iuventus Romana veneretur in militia.* Juven. *Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala : sævior armis Luxuria incubuit.*

there of necessity must our hard Fortunes participate of our manners and behaviours. And so it commonly falleth out, that all Empires at first (in themselves Valiant and vertuous) have degenerated and declined. For let men assure themselves, that Whether they imploy their Times in Husbandry, Traffique, or gorgeous Buildinges, Perpetuity consisteth in [1] Vertue. For as concerning those partes of men, whose mind is their belly; their delight, sleep; their body (against commonsence) their Joyance; their Nobler part, a greevance; utterly unlearned, and worse nurtured, spending their daies as Ideots, and [2] Strangers; of these, I say, I put no distinction betweene their living soules, and their dead Carkases, for that [3] with their bodies their remembraunce is buried. But the man that either spendeth his time in publicke Office, in atchievement of Honour, or advancement of his name by the invention of some good and profitable Art, him will I affirme truely to live, and essentially to participate of a reasonable soule. CHAPTER I

But in this mixture and universe of humors, Nature hath laide out to divers men, diversity of courses: as to meditate the prosperity and welfare of the state, is exceeding commendable; no lesse praise-worthy is it, to speake well, and to plead judiciously; and to invest posterity with the Titles of Honor in merit of our good carriages, either in Peace or Warre, is no lesse allowable: neither they that have beene Actors, nor they that have beene the Registers of others honourable actions, are to be denied or defrauded of their Lawrell Girlands.

And in my Judgement, although the like commendation were not to be bestowed uppon the Historiographer, as may seeme deserved due to the Actor, yet thus much dare I affirm, that it is a most difficult task, by writing to represent the Actions of great Personages. First, for that words and stile ought to equalize their deeds. Secondly, for that many men are of opinion, that the reprehension

[1] Plaut. *Omnia assunt bona, quem penes est virtus.*
[2] *Qui transeunt non transigunt.*
[3] *Inglorii sunt et vivi et mortui.*

CHAPTER I

of faults proceedeth from Spleene or Envy; whereas in recitall of the Vertues and generous passages of good men, every one according to his slender capacity, opinionating the facility of performance, giveth the beliefe, but what is more, or goeth beyond his incredulous understanding, he reputeth false, and therefore fabulous.

Now I being a young man amongst others, was taken from my Booke, and thrust into the worlde, wherein I found many things were opposite to my disposition. For, insteed of modesty, abstinence, and frugall Liberality, I found all places accustomed [1] to Impudence, Bribery, and Avarice. Which although my very soule did loath, as a Virgin undefiled with these contagious abuses, yet by reason of my tender yeares (as it could not otherwise fall out) in the very centre of so many fretting and inticing frailties, I could not escape the humour of Ambition. For beeing spotlesse in all other Vanities, the same desire of preferment which had atached others with boldnes and ambition,[2] seized also upon me, and therfore as soone as I had quit my mind from cares and dangers, and thereupon had resolved to spend my future daies far from the imployments of the state, yet at last I resolved with my self that it was but a base conceit, either to trifle out my times of leysure, in [3] Sloth and Clownish Ignorance; or to weare out the better powers of my body in toylesome Husbandry, in disports of hunting, or any such servile pleasures.

Whereuppon retyring my selfe to my Booke, from whence ydle ambition had once almost withdrawne me, I have resolutely set mee downe, briefely to relate the glorious actions of the Roman people, and that with the greater courage, because my pen is free from hope, from feare, or any other the partialities of the commonwealth. My

[1] *Ubi prisci Romani abstinebant à gradu altiore, quam digni videbantur, nunc per largitionem omnia invadebant.*

[2] *Dociles imitandis turpibus et pravis omnes sumus.*

[3] *Uno modo otiosus dicitur, qui penitus cessat, alio modo, qui in publico munere non est licet in re privata multum laboret.*

subject shall be, The Conspiracie of Cateline, wherin, I vow all possible Brevity. My reasons are, the Memorie of the Action, the Greatnesse of the Danger, the Foulenesse of the Fact, and the Strangenesse of the Plot. And first I will begin with the manners and disposition of the Agent. CHAPTER I

CHAPTER II

1. The Linage, Life, and Conditions of Cateline. 2. His Motives to ingagement

THIS L. Cateline was descended of Honourable Parentage, a man of an able body, and no lesse adorned with Gentleman-like qualities, but of an evil and froward disposition. From his youth addicted to civil dissentions, to Quarrelling, to Cheting and discord : these were meerely the humours of his youth. His body could well inure it selfe to undergo Want, Watching, and cold, more then humane. Bold of Spirit, Subtle, Waywarde, a deepe dissembler, greedy of another mans Thrift, Prodigall of his owne : Talkative enough, voide of wisedom, of an high minde, accompanied with desires unsatiable, incredible, too too ambitious. The Linage, Life, and Conditions of Cateline

After the Tyranny of[1] Silla, his proud mind could take no rest, for Meditating, how he likewise might usurpe uppon the state, neither cared he how, or by what meanes he had it, so he were sole-Lord in possession. His haughty spirit was every day more trobled then other : his Poverty and guilty Conscience, did daily solicite progression, and both these, were seconded by those his inclinations, whereof we first related. Besides, the depraved and corrupted His motives to ingagement

[1] *Silla recuperata Rep. et oppressis Marianis, pulcherrimam victoriam crudelitate maxima inquinavit. Octo millia deditorum in via publica trucidavit, tabulam proscriptionis posuit, urbem et totam Italiam cædibus replevit.*

CHAPTER II

manners of the state did animate his Nature, on which Ryot, and Avarice, two the worst and most opposite vices, did continually hammer.

And now (sithence we are fallen into Relation of the corruption of the state) the course of the History doth call upon me, somewhat to remember the times of Antiquity and in few words to relate, how our Auncestors managed the state in Peace and in Warre,[1] how glorious they bequeathed it, how in processe of time it drooped, and of a most faire, good, and beautifull Empire, it degenerated unto a most base, most vile, and most ignominious Tyranie.

CHAPTER III

The Originall and declination of the Roman Empire. The commendation of those Auncestours, who erected and enlarged it. A taxation of the present times

The Originall and declination of the Roman Empire

THE first inhabitants and builders of the City of Rome[2] (by report) were the Troians, who under the conduct of Æneas, wandered as fugitives about the world, in no place claiming any true propriety of inhabitation. With them descended the Aborigines, Salvages, living without Lawe, without Government, Free, and Resolute. But after they had incircled themselves within the compasse of a Wall, it were almost an incredible relation to report, how lovingly they agreed, considring their difference in discent, their diversity in

[1] *De cujus immensitate sic Livius. Quæ ab exiguis profecta initiis, eò creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret suâ.*

[2] *Varia et incerta de civitatum conditoribus est opinio.*

Dialect, and contrariety of fashions. Yet after their estate grew respective by increase of Inhabitants, by Civility and augmentation of Territory (a common accident in worldly affaires) factions and discontents arose from superfluity. The Princes and the bordering nations invaded them, few friendes were found to assist them : in respect of the danger they were content to Temporize. But the Romans provident in peace, and valorous in Warre, neglected no Opportunity, prepared armor, incouraged one another, carried the warre into the enemies Countrey, reposed their liberty, the safety of their Countrey, and the welfare of their Parents, in the valor of their armes : Yea, after they had diverted the Terror of war by their valiancy, they assisted their alies and companions in armes, multiplying their leagues and associations, rather by giving, then receiving of gratuities. Such power hath Lawfull acquisition to adde greatnesse unto Emperie. CHAPTER III

To those, who by reason of their years, were unserviceable in body, yet very sufficient for advice and counsel, were committed the cares of the Citty and civill affayres ; and these, in respect of their age, or simpathy of their charges, were tearmed Fathers.

But after, that sole-Soveraignty (which at first was ordained for protection of Liberty, and augmentation of Territory) degenerated into Pride, and hæreditary Titles : by change of that custome, they transferred the Governement of one, to the annuall Election of two Consuls. By this forme of limited pollicy, they verily beleeved that they had utterly suppressed the minds of mankinde, from dreaming upon the imaginary humors of licentious Soveraignty. But then, more then before, began everie man to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on high disseigns. For absolute Princes are alwaies more jealous of the good, then of the badde, because another mans Vertue (as they take it) is a diminution of their respectivenesse, and therefore dangerous.

But it is incredible to report, in howe short a time, the Citty, having obtained this forme of Liberty in Government,

CHAPTER III

increased and prospered; so infinite a desire of glory, had possessed the minds of al sorts. For now the youth, by yeares enabled to the Travels of Warfare, and by use inured, accounted it no labour to learne to manage their weapons in the open fielde, with a diversion of their delights, from Whores and Ordinaries, to gallant Furnitures of service, and riding of warlike Horses. To such courages, no labor was unwelcome, no place inaccessable, or unassaultable; no nor the armed enemy, dreadfull or unmatchable. Valor was resolute, and at all times victorious. Their emulation was glorious: Every mans strife was, who should first attach the enemy; give the Scalado: every one thrust forward, to effect such and such a peece of service, in the eye of his Generall: These exploits they accounted Riches, Reputation, and true Nobility. The eulogies and Reports of the people best fitted their humors; of their Purses they were liberall; desirous of glory above measure; content with competency.

Were it not that I should weary your eares too injuriously with this tedious digression, I could point you out, in what places, even with [1] a handfull of men, the Roman people routed huge battallions of their enemies, and forced [2] Cities, by Nature impregnable. But surely [3] Fortune, blind Fortune, wil have prædominancy in all our affayrs. In all actions she it is, that advanceth and debaseth all our projects, more like a Tyrannesse (according to wil) then a Goddesse relying upon merit.

The fortunes of the Athenians in my Judgement, were very honourable and illustrious; yet sure, somewhat inferiour to report: but by reason of the excellent Wittes,[4] which thence descended, their acts were famoused throgh the whole world, to the utmost of commendation: yea, so farre forth was the vertue of the Actor, strained to reputation, as possibly those excellent wittes could deliniate it

[1] *Ut in Armenia, ubi Lucullus Tigranem fudit, et filium ejus captivum in triumphum duxit.*

[2] *Ut Carthaginem novam, et Numantiam in Hispania.*

[3] Vir. *Inconstans, fragilis, perfida, lubrica.*

[4] *Inter quos præcipue Thucydides.*

by writing. But with the Romans it fared farre otherwise ; for never had they the good hap of such diversity of penmen, because the wisest and most sufficientest spirits, were most imployed in the affaires of the state. The sufficiency of the wise man, was no priviledge to exempt him from the emploiment of his body ; Every one of the better sort delighted to do, and not to say, desiring rather to heare his owne praises recorded from the mouth of a stranger, then himselfe Minstrel-like, to be the Chaunter of another mans glory. CHAPTER III

Whereupon it came to passe, that Law and discipline were strictly reverenced both in Citty and Campe.[1] Their concord and unity were admirable, their Covetousnesse scarce perceivable. Æquity they imbraced more for love, then for fear of punishment : as for their Brawls, Jelousies, and Discontents, them they wreaked upon their enemies. Their mutual contentions were one with another, in quest of Vertue, their sacrifices Prince-like, their home-fare Parsimonious ; in friendship constant. Thus by Courage in Warre, and Justice in Peace, they advanced and augmented themselves and their state. Whereof these two Politicall experiments do fully assure me ; the first for that in Warre they more severely punished those that fought properously with the enemy, either against, or without, the commaund of the Generall, or retired from the pursuit more slowly, then they ought ; then those, who either forsooke their colours, or being beaten from their Stations, durst adventure to flie. Secondly, in Peace, they wrought more by curtesie then feare, rather winking at wrongs, then willing to revenge.[2] Thus by valor and Justice the state florished : mighty Kings were by War subdued ; the barbarous Nations, and many potent Commonweales by force dispoiled ; yea, Carthage, the Corrivall of the Roman

[1] Livius. *Nulla unquam resp. nec maior, nec sanctior : nec in quam tam serò avaritia, Luxuriaque immigraverant ; nec ubi antus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit.*

[2] *Artes quibus imperium paratur, sunt prudentia, consilium, attentio, Temperantia, continentia, abstinentia, parsimonia, fortitudo, labor, vigilia, industria, justitia, fides, liberalitas, religio.*

CHAPTER III

Empire utterly ruinated: All Seas were freed of Pyrates, all Lands cleared of Enemies.

Now began Fortune to frown, to bring in confusion, to raise up innovation. To those couragious spirits, which but yesterday made light of labour, of dangers, and of difficult adventures, disuse of armes, and purchase of riches, (the delights of forren Nations) are now becom Gives to inthrall their valors, and the cause of all insuing miseries: Where after followed the immoderate scraping of money, with the ambitious desire of superiority. To speake truely, these were the fatall bellowes to kindle the fire of our future misfortunes. For avarice, first taught us to violate our faiths, to scorne honesty, and all other just proceedings, investing us in lieu thereof, with Pride, Cruelty, Irreligion, and unconscionable sales of every thing vendible. Ambition withal, made us false and brazen-faced, to retaine one sence in our minds, and utter another with our tongues: to estimate friendship and hatred, not by true merit, but by profit: and finally to fashion our faces to the world, and our consciences to hell. These abuses and impostures grew up by leisure,[1] and were sometimes punished.

But after that the contagion grew strong and violent, the state was presently chaunged: and that forme of Government, which whilom was most just and excellent, became most cruell and intollerable. At first ambition, the neerest counterfet of vertue, raged more then Avarice. For as wel the worthy, as the unworthy, did strive to purchase Glory, preferment, and offices. But the one, paced the right path, the other by reason of his insufficiency, practised by cunning and indirect bribery.

Avarice is an immoderate desire of riches, which never any wise man hunted after: being so incorporated with unseene poisons, that it corrupteth the body, and altereth the mind. The love whereof is boundlesse, and insatiable, neither asswaged with surplusage, nor diminished by want.

But after that L. Silla by armes had freed the state, by

[1] Juven. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*

the defeature of Marius; from these good and prosperous beginnings, proceeded disastrous conclusions. For hee,[1] to make the army, suffered his followers to spoile, to rob, to defeat one of his house, another of his possessions: the victors sword knew no meane, no modesty: abhominable[2] and cruell, were the executions which they inflicted upon their fellow Citizens. Unto these abuses the armie which Silla himselfe ledde into Asia, gave no small furtherance. For hee, to assure the dependancies of his men of Warre, contrary to the custome of his predecessors, behaved himselfe too popularly and riotously, amongest them. Their pleasant incampings, and voluptuous townes of Garrison, had over-wrought their fierce courages with ydlenesse. In this place, was the first overthrow of the Roman armies; for heere, they learned to Wench, to drinke healths, and to growe into fancying of Scutchions, Pictures, and inchased utensils: yea, and to purloine publickly and privately, to Pillage Temples, and to put no conscience betweene sacred and prophane Robberies. These were the souldiers, which after their purchase of victory, pillaged their fellow Cittizens and Countrymen with all extremities. Certainely, prosperity blindeth the Judgement of the wise; who then woulde expect, that these men, being most dissolutely disciplined, coulde use their victory with moderation?

CHAPTER III

After that the Rich man[3] was reputed for honorable, and that Worship, Superiority, and Attendance, depended upon wealth, then began vertue to play bankerupt; Poverty to be disgracefull, and free Language to be accounted malicious frowardnesse. Whereby it came to passe, that youth by superfluity, grew Luxurious, proud, and yet penurious; given to Extortion, yet prodigall: Of their

[1] *Appianus scribit illum* 40 *Senatores, equites mille et sexcentos ad mortem condemnasse.*

[2] *Prius* 80 *proscripsit: uno interjecto die ducentos et viginti alios adjecit: tertio, non pauciores adjunxit: dixitque se de novo proscripturum eos quorum tunc esset oblitus.*

[3] Juven. *Quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum, etc.*

CHAPTER III

owne estates unthrifty, of another mans extreame covetous; of modesty and civill behaviour, exceeding neglective: in divine and human offices, indifferent: in discretion and moderation, carelesse.

In compare of these times, wonder it were to beholde our auncient edifices and Villages, builte in fashion of Citties, with the magnificence of those Temples, which our most religious auncestors erected: Truely,[1] they adorned Religious habitations with devotion: their private Mansions with fame: neither bereft they the conquered Enemy of any thing, save his apparant meanes of rebellion.[2] On the contrary, these wretches, the basest of men, ransacked their companions, and that most shamelessely, of all those their necessaries, which (the other) most worthy victors even spared to their enemies; accounting it a disparagement to valor, and a point of heynous injury, to doe all that, that the conqueror might do.

But to what purpose, shoulde I talke of those abuses, which no man will beleeve, except hee were an Eye-witnesse: either of mountaines levelled, or seas[3] made firme foundations, by the abilities of private purses? Wherein, if I might sit judge, I could not but laugh at their follies, for that every one made more hast then other, indiscreetly to lavish that out, which honestly to make use of, was good and lawfull.

Moreover, the love of Women, of Gaming, and curiosity, had made no lesse a breach into their vicious humours: the men behaved themselves like women, and women[4] made open prostitution of their reputation. Their travels, by Sea and by Land, were onely to see, not to observe: giving themselves to sleepe, before Nature refected it: and to satisfie their appetites, before that eyther hunger, wearinesse, Thirst, or colde, attached their bodies. Then,

[1] *Per se, aut per stemmata majorum.*

[2] *Viz.: arma, naves, equos. Interdum mœnia diruebant. Tributaria facta est Carthago, prius quam deleta.*

[3] *Ut fecerat Lucullus Neapoli: unde Flor. Contracta pisces equora sentiunt, jactis altum molibus.*

[4] *Casta fuit, quam nemo rogavit.*

how could it be prevented, but that youth [1] must fling out, when ability is wanting? A mind thus affected, can not want fit projectes of pleasures, to the accomplishment whereof, it regards not what it gets, nor how it spends. CHAPTER III

CHAPTER IV

1. Catelines pollicies in entertainment of lewd Company. 2. The causes which hastened the Conspiracy, and gave the fiercest motives of Resolution

IN this so flourishing, so populous, and corrupted a state, Cateline gave entertainment (a disseigne soone effected) to all the wickedest and disolutest gallants of the City, retaining them neer about his person, as if they had bin the guards of his bodie. For whatsoever unchast companion, Adulterer, or Swagerer, had discipated his Patrimony, by lavish Liberality, by Surfeting, or Letchery: whosoever stood ingaged in bonds,[2] so that his meanes were not able to purchase his freedome: all sortes of Murderers, Church-robbers, such as stood convicted by Judgments, or, for feare of Judgement, durst not shewe their faces before the seate of Justice: those, whose tongues had beene polluted with perjury, or had their handes tainted with civill bloodshed: And last of all, whomsoever the remorse of a crying conscience afflicted, Poverty oppressed, or a guilty soule redargued of offence, these were the friends, favorites and followers of Cateline. But if it hapned, that any true Gentleman, innocent of

Catelines pollicies in entertainment of lewd Company

[1] Juve. *Unde habeo, nemo querat: sed oportet habere.*

[2] *Facinora redimabantur, tunc pecunia, quia (ut visum est) ante Sillam non licebat interficere cives Romanos, nisi in quibusdam criminibus.*

CHAPTER IV

these mis-behaviours, chanced into his company, by daily use and example, he became in a trice, fellow and fashionable to the residue of his Consorts.[1] His especiall project was, to affect the acquaintance of the younger sort, because hee knewe their minds to be soonest and readiest wrought to any impression. And therefore by observation of every mans humor,[2] some he would acquaint with beautifull Harlots, uppon othersome he would bestow Dogges of pleasure, and upon others galant horses, sparing for no cost, no importunacy, first to ingage their allegiances, and afterwardes to make use of their disloyalties.

The causes which hastened the Conspiracy, and gave the fiercest motives of Resolution

2. I am not ignorant, that many men were of opinion,[3] that the youth which frequented the house of Cateline abandoned their bodies to unchast devices, but this surmise arose upon other grounds, then were knowne to the vulgar. For it was long sithence, that Cateline beeing a young man, had frequently defiled his body with a Noble Virgin, a Nunne of Vesta; and against the Lawes and all Conscience, had committed very many such like inormities: and at last, being overtaken in the Love of Aurelia Oristella, (a Lady for no good part commendable, but a beautifull visage) it was for certainty reported, that, because she stood squeamish of marriage, in regarde shee feared what might happen, when his child, and her sonne in law, should come to yeares, he made away the boy, and by this scælestious match, left his house Issuelesse. Which one only project, to my understanding, was the principal and violentest motive, to hasten on the Treason. For who knoweth not, that a Conscience accused of murder, hatefull to Gods and men, can neither take rest by day, nor by night, but is alwaies tormented with the appeale of its owne guiltinesse. And thereupon his complexion changed, his eye grewe dull, his pace variable, sometimes quick, sometimes slow; surely his face bewrayed his troubled

[1] *Ea est in amicitia calamitas maxima, quod Amor præcedat judicium.*

[2] Te. *Quod plerique faciunt adolescentuli, ut animum ad aliquod studium adjungant, aut equos alere, aut canes ad venandum.*

[3] *Historici est nihil affirmare quod compertum et exploratum non habeat.*

conscience. Then, in deeper manner (then before) he meditated, to engage his youthfull followers in hainous offences, teaching them to play knights of the Post, to forge bils and conveyances, and to make no reckoning of Faith, Fortunes, or Daungers. When hee perceived them thus carelesse and shamelesse, he proceeded to points of higher doctrine: and that was, that if a present occasion of ill doing presented not it selfe at hande, that nethelesse, they shoulde not desist to circumvent the good as well as the bad; no, not if their lives lay in hazard; for feare forsooth, least disuse should bring their hands out of temper, or their mindes to forgetfulnes of actuating evill: training them up to deceit and cruelty, in purchase of small game, rather then to sit out and doe nothing. CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER V

1. Cateline resolveth to seize on the state. 2. His reasons. 3. What sorts of men are to bee noted prime-actors in Rebellion

ASSIDUITY begat constancy: and therefore Cateline now firmly relying upon the faith and assistance of these his confederates, and already having ingaged his credit thorough all countries, as deepely as possible his assurance coulde stretch unto; and withal, not unpolitickly observing, that the remaines of Sillas army, by living more riotously then the rapines of their late victory could warrant them (whereof a fresh memory yet boiled in their stomackes) did itch after a seconde civill Warre, roundly resolveth with himselfe, to become maister of the state. Cateline resolveth to seize on the state

CHAPTER V

His reasons

2. In Italy no Army was on foot. G. Pompeius managed the warre in forreigne countries.[1] His hopes, in standing for the Consul-ship, were not fewest. The Senate was secure; All men in peace, all places devoted to good Correspondency. Fitter opportunities could not fortune have heaped into Catelines bosome: He tooke holde, and therefore about the Kalends of June, L. Cæsar, and C. Figulus being Consulles, hee sendeth for every man apart, some he intreateth, others hee comforteth, and opposeth to their considerations their own strength, compared it with the weaknesse of the state unprovided; and lastly, forgetteth not to insinuate the massinesse of reward, which attended uppon their purchase of victory.

What sorts of men are to bee noted prime-actors in Rebellion

3. After this private discourse, he findeth a time to call a generall Counsel, of all those, whom either for Nobility, for deepenesse of interest in the plot, or desperate dispositions, he durst best intrust.

Of the Order of Senators, appeared P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. and Servius, the sonnes of Silla Servius, L. Vergunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Lecca, Lucius Bestia, Q. Curius. Of the order of Knights, M. Fulvius the Noble, L. Statilius, P. Gavinius Capito, C. Cornelius. Besides these, many of the Colonies and infranchised Cities, men of good esteeme in their Countries; yea, and some great personages (but in more secret maner) were a Counsell in the action, whom neyther want nor any other necessity drew in, but meere ambition, to share for their fortunes.

Moreover, the major part of the youth, and those especially of the Gentry, were glad of the project, and favored the plot; such I meane, whose humors desired to spende gallantly, or to live wantonly, affecting incertainties for certainties, and bloodshed rather then peace.

Some lived in those daies, who durst affirme, that M. Licinius Crassus was not altogether a stranger unto that assembly, for that G. Pompeius his corrivall and adversarie, was then preferred to be Lord Generall of the

[1] *Contra Tigranem et Methridatem.*

Army, against whose credite and greatnesse hee cared not whose envy, or what power he provoked: nothing mistrusting if the conspiracy prospered, but that he would find means to become their leader. CHAPTER V

Before this adventure, a former conspiracy had been on foot against the state, wherein Cateline had likewise beene an Actor, whereof (before I proceede further) I will discourse with all truth to my utmost power.

CHAPTER VI

1. Cateline in suing for the Consulship, is denied. 2. His first Treason discovered. 3. Piso is sent into Spaine. 4. The reasons: his death.

TULLUS, and Marcus Lepidus beeing Consuls, P. Autronius and P. Silla Consuls elect, were accused of bribery,[1] and therfore fined and disgraced. Not long after, Cateline being in office, was also attainted for extortion, and prohibited to stand for the Consulship, for that according to Law hee could not travers the accusation, and give in his name[2] blamelesse within his time limitted. Cateline in suing for the Consulship, is denied

At the same time lived G. Piso, a young Gentleman, discended of Honourable parentage, but exceeding wilde, poore, and factious. Penury and evill education set his thoughts on working to innovation.

2. About the Nones of December; Cateline, this yong Gentleman, and Autronius, laid their heads together, in the Capitoll to murder the two Consuls, L. Torquatus and His first Treason discovered

[1] *Quod per ambitum, aut alia via sinistra ad magistratus pervenisse convincebantur, et pœnas dabant, et à magistratu abire cogebantur.*

[2] *Quicunque magistratum petebat, nomen suum immune dare oportebat.*

CHAPTER VI

L. Cotta, uppon the Kalends of January, and then,[1] they two seizing on the Ensignes of honor and office, to poast away this Piso with an Army, for the retaining of both Spaines [2] to their uses. Which complot being discovered, they deferred the second resolution of the murder untill the Nones of February. Then, they intended not the destruction of the two Consuls onely, but the destruction also of many of the Nobility. Wherein if Cateline had not made too much hast to Court, to have given his complices the watch-word, without doubt, that day had proved the bloudiest season, that ever the Citty of Rome had beheld, sithence the laying of her first foundations. The slow approach [3] of the Conspirators, broke the neck of the intended enterprize.

Piso is sent into Spaine

3. Notwithstanding Piso was sent Lord President into the hether-Spaine,[4] not without the connivance of Marcus Crassus, for that, he stood assured, that Piso was no small adversary unto the greatnesse of C. Pompeius.

The reasons: his death

4. Neither yet could the Lords of the Senate be taxed of improvidence, for intrusting the province to such a companion; for it was their pollicy to remove so corrupt a member farre from the more sounder and vitall parts of the Commonweale; partly, for that they mistrusted, that many good men might hover under the wing of his preferment, and partly, for that the power of Pompey, and his credit with the army, were (with reason) growne verie suspitious unto the state. But this very Piso, in the midst of his journey, was slaine, by those horsemen over whom he commanded.

Some gave out, that the Barbarians could not digest his injust,[5] imperious, and cruell government; Others, that those horsemen being the ancient followers of Pompey, and his faithfull servitors, committed the murder not without

[1] *Correptis fascibus.* [2] *S. superiorem et inferiorem.*
[3] *Nondum convenerant, cum signum daret.*
[4] *Viciniorem Italiæ.*
[5] *Minus est imperatorem injustum esse quam superbum: minus superbum esse quum crudelem.*

his privity: affirming, that the Spaniards never committed so execrable an homicide, and yet had indured many more severe Lieutenants. For our parts, we will leave it, as we found it, and so end the Relation of this first Treason.

CHAPTER VII

1. Cateline exhorteth his complices to perseverance. 2. They require the conditions of the warre. 3. He giveth them satisfaction

CATELINE, assoone as he perceived that those his complices (whom wee nomin ated before,) were now assembled, althogh he had often dealt in particular with every one of them, yet supposing it a point of no small regarde, to deale with them in general, now or never to settle their resolutions, retired himself into the remotest roome of his house: from whence, all strangers excluded, thus and thus he began his Oration.

Cateline exhorteth his complices to perseverance

Unlesse my very soule were fully perswaded of your valors and constancies, it were impossible to hope that any Fortunate successe should second these our attempts, and those strong hopes of Liberty and power, whereof we account our selves in better part of possession, were idle, and to no purpose; neither I, for my part, would shew my selfe so vaine conceited, as thorough cowardice, or any giddy straine of a running wit, to let slip certainties in hope of incertaine adventures. But for that, in many, and most important daungers, I have alwaies founde you valourous and faithfull; as well, in those regards, hath my courage dared to adventure, upon this worthy and most honorable action, as also for that it is now past dispute, that we are all alike ingaged, and must of necessity all drinke

CHAPTER VII

of one Cup, be it good or evill. And therefore, in general, to be all of one opinion, is the strongest bond of faith and friendship. What my resolutions are, you have heretofore heard my private discourses, but every day bringeth into my mind a new perplexity, with a desire to understand, what course we shall run, unlesse we our selves should now be resolute to purchase our own pardons. For sithence the Soveraignty hath divolved, under the power and oppression of some few great men; Kinges and Tetrarchs have bin gladde to protest themselves their vassals: people and Nations have paide them contribution; but as for the residue of us the Nobility, how valorous, how good, howe Noble or ignoble soever, we are accounted of but as the vulgar: deprived of Honor, and subjected to those, unto whom, if right might take place, wee ought to be Lords, and to give the Law. What should I say? All graces, offices, honour, and wealth, they assume unto themselves, or at least al lieth at their dispose: To us, is naught afforded, save daunger, denials, extents and misery: which disgraces, (o you my most valiant companions) I pray you relate, how long shall we suffer? Is it not more befitting our generous spirits, to die resolutely, then alwaies to leade a miserable and base life, subject to the scorne of an underlings pride?

By the faith which I owe unto God and the worlde, the victory is ours already in possession: youth is on our side, our hearts as couragious; with our enemies, all things are growne feeble and timorous, through age and abundance, we shall onely but take care for the onset, time it selfe will second the progresse.

Fellowes in Armes, what mortall creature, that hath but a scantling of human courage, can endure, to see these men to wallowe in wealth, lavishly disbursed in Inning of Seas, and levelling of mountaines, and our selves to want even necessaries of life? They, to be Lords of two or more goodly pallaces, we scarce to possesse one roofe, wherewithall to cover our Nakednesse? These are they, that have naught to doe with their wealth, save to bestow it on Pictures, Images, and imbossed furnitures: Old fashions are odious, yet pull they

down their new Fabricks, and erect others more pleasing to their fancies. By all direct and indirect means they procure mony, and oppresse, and nethelesse their extreame expence is no diminution of their estates. But with us, at home rageth poverty, abroade waite executions: our credites are desperat, our hopes worse: What then, I beseech ye remaineth us, save a tormented conscience, worst of miseries?

Courage my Companions: Loe, that, that Liberty, which so long you have expected, and so often implored, now calleth on your valours. And not it alone, for besides, you have wealth, a just cause, and honor on your sides. These are your Trophies of victory: Fortune wil have it so. Let the quality of the Action, the opportunity of time, the greatnesse of the danger, and the inestimable spoiles of War, move ye, more then my speech; be it at your choise, to use me as your leader, or as a private souldier. I will never faile ye in Counsell or Action. And unlesse my Genius deceive me, I hope being Consul, to performe what I have spoken, unlesse your spirits bee so basely dejected, that you had rather live in subjection, then commaund with Honour.

They require the conditions of the warre

2. Notwithstanding the pithy and perswasive deliverie of this Oration, those of the complot, which were in greatest distrust, and least confirmed in hopes, and yet beleeved, that plentifull advancements could not but attende them upon the trouble of the State; began to demande, that Cateline should give them satisfaction, What should be the condition of the War: what their rewards: what hopes induced him; what assistance they should relie upon.

He giveth them satisfaction

3. Whereupon, hee protested generall acquitances, proscriptions of the richer sort,[1] Magistracies, Priesthoods, Pillage, and all other Reprisals, which the Liberty of war is accustomed to share unto the pleasure of the victor.[2]

For his Assistance,[3] hee shewed them, that Piso in the hether Spaine, and P. Sitius Nucerinus in Mauritania, led

[1] *Peior est conditio proscriptorum quam exulum, nam in exilio sunt tuti, illi nusquam.*

[2] *Hæc quantum ad præmia.*

[3] *Quantum ad auxilia.*

CHAPTER VII

sufficient forces, both ingaged in the plot, and both privie of his counsels.

His Hopes were, that[1] C. Antonius would stand for the Consulship, and that he made no question, but to become his fellow in office; a man of his familiar and inwarde acquaintance, on all sides oppressed with necessities, and with him, in their Consulship, he would not faile to open the warre.

This done, hee began maliciously to slander all honest men, and by name to praise every Varlet of his own crew: one hee put in minde of his poverty, another of his longing, some of the danger and disgrace incident, and many of Sillas victory;[2] at what time it was lawfull to make pillage of any thing that Lust could seize upon.

Heerewith, observing their generall alacrity, he requested them to have an especiall regard to satisfie his expectation, and so dismissed the assembly.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Cateline administreth an Oath of secrecy. The maner, and reason. 2. Q. Curius described

Cateline administreth an Oath of secrecy. The maner, and reason

IN those daies lived some, who reported, that Cateline, having finisht his speech in ministring the oth of confedracie to these his creatures, began a carouse of wine brewed with humane blood. Whereof, when every party after divers execrations, had pledged him after the maner of solemn Sacrifices, then began he to lay open the very depth of his projects, and to conceale nothing, to the intent, that every one being alike guilty of others ingagement, they should persevere the more constant each confederate to other.

[1] *Quantum ad spem. Alii, Antonium participem prioris conjurationis.*
[2] *Sperans consimile exitum Belli.*

CHAPTER VIII

Many againe, did account these, and many such like reports, as false and fabulous, devised by them, who by aggravating the heynous offences of the traitours, did endevour to extenuate the scandall afterwards imputed upon Cicero,[1] by reason of the severe punishment, inflicted upon the offenders. In regard of the greatnesse of the Ambiguity,[2] we know not well what to affirme.

Q. Curius described

In the conspiracy was one Quintus Curius, by birth a Gentleman, but wholly addicted to dishonest courses and villanies, whom the Censors for his infamous life had deposed from the Senate. Nothing inferior to this mans vanity, was his rash and peremptory carriage: he coulde neither silence what he heard of other, nor bury in oblivion his privat offences: taking no regard of his speech, or action.

He had long bin acquainted with Fulvia, an honourable Lady, to whom after hee perceived that hee was but coldly welcome, (for that his present poverty coulde not answere her his former liberality) hee resolved with himselfe to set al upon boasts; somtime to promise mountains, sometime to menace her, and rather then faile, somtime to use her more rudely, then hee had beene accustomed. But Fulvia agreeved with these his insolencies, and understanding the cause, how the common wealth stood indangered, vowed no secresie, but onely suppressing the name of the reporter, revealed unto many of her acquaintance, where, and what, she heard of the conspiracie of Cateline.

This sudden report first wrought the minds of most men to invest M. T. Cicero, with the honour of the Consulship: for before the greater part of the Nobility, stomacked his preferment, yea they were of opinion, that the place had bin polluted, if he (though deservedly) being no Gentleman by discent, had managed that high place of dignitie. But uppon the approach of the storme, envy, and Pride, lay buried in silence.

[1] *Quia jussit Romanos cives interfici sine Lege.*
[2] *Et sic servatur fides Historiæ, cujus prima lex est, ut sit vera.*

CHAPTER VIII

Whereupon the day of election being come, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were saluted Consuls ; which verie creation did at first breake the hearts of the Conspirators. But the rashnes of Cateline was never the more asswaged : every day he went more forward then other ; he prepared armor, and distributed it in places of greatest importance throughout Italy : he tooke up as much mony as the credite of his friends, or his owne assurance could procure, causing it to bee conveyed to one Manlius at Fesule, who afterward acted a principal part in the rebellion.

It was reported, that at that time he laboured men of al fashions, yea and some women, who after their commodities were of no worth, by reason that age had put a period to their fees, but not to their riot, were become deepely indebted.

By these, Cateline stood in good hopes to draw in the slaves of the Citty, to fire the Towne, to unite their husbands to the action, or otherwise, to murder them.

Amongest these was Sempronia, a Woman that had committed many virile outrages, above the creation of her sex. In birth and beauty commendable, in marriage and issue fortunate, well seene in the Greeke and Latine languages, and more curious-cunning in musicke and dancing, then well might stand with the reputation of honesty. Adorned she was with many other qualities, but such, as were rather to be reckoned provokements unto Luxurie, (yet more familiar unto her disposition) then either savoured of decency, or modest behaviour. It were harde to say, whether she were most prodigall, of her purse, or her honesty : so hot of constitution, that shee woulde sooner graunt, then stay the asking of a question : beewraying the confidence of those that trusted her, and perfidiouslie dealing with those that credited her : Guilty of murder, and spent by Luxury, the fore-runner of povertie, without hope of recovery. Quicke Witted, a Versifier, frolicke, discoursive uppon any vaine, modest, amorous, or swaggering ; wholy given to jests and pleasaunt conceits.

OF CATELINE

CHAPTER IX

1. Cateline practiseth the death of Cicero. 2. Beeing disappointed, he resolveth to set all uppon hazzard. 3. Cicero preserved by the intelligence of Fulvia. 4. Manlius ingageth the people of Hetruria

FFAIRES beeing thus ordered,[1] Cateline notwithstanding his former repulse, resolveth yet once again for the next yeare to stand for the Consulship: wherein, if he sped, hee doubted not but to make use of Antonius at his pleasure. Neither heere gave hee ends to his discontents, but by all meanes sought the destruction of Cicero, a man as vigilant and as polliticke as himselfe, to countermine his devices; by great promises from the beginning of his Consulship, continually working with Fulvia, to procure Q. Curius, to lay open the deepest plot of the Conspiracie unto her. And besides that, had firmely seized on the faith of Antonius his fellow in office (by the assurance and exchange of the governement of the province) [2] in no point to waver for the good of his country: [3] secretly [4] and circumspectly causing his friends and followers to be respective of his safety.

Cateline practiseth the death of Cicero

2. The day of election being come, and that neyther his suite succeeded, nor his malices against the Consulles [5] prevailed, perceiving that what he had politickely determined, was as cunningly frustrated; foorth-with, hee

Being disappointed, he resolveth to set all uppon hazzard

[1] *Dictis Cons. quos timuerat, creatis.*

[2] *Unde plus lucri, qua ex urbe Cons. obvenerat, melius inde inopiæ suæ consulere.*

[3] *Minus commodi ex provincia, quam ex factione Catelinæ consequi non potuit.*

[4] *Ne videretur etiam regnum affectare, aut seditionem fovere.*

[5] *Ambos, postquam viderat Antonium contra remp. nolle sentire.*

CHAPTER IX

resolveth upon the two extreames; Warre, and Hazard, and thereupon setteth up his rest.

Wherupon, he dispatcheth C. Manlius unto Fesulæ and the Countrey thereabouts. One Septimius Camertes hee sendeth into the borders of the Piceni, and C. Julius he posteth to Apulia, and finally giveth instructions to others of his Complices, every man to betake himselfe unto those quarters, wherin he thoght his ability could afford the best meanes for his purpose. At Rome he giveth orders for his weightiest projects: some he commandeth to lie in wait for the Consuls; som to prepare wild-fires; and others, to disperse their armed followers in places of best opportunity: he himselfe standeth upon his guard. These he commandeth and entreateth, to be ready at an instant, to be vigilant, to spare no pains, by night nor by day, to have an eie upon all occasions; and finally, not to be dejected by the unacustomed travailes of watching and labor. At length, revolving in his mind, that his care of execution, had bin nothing inferior to his directions, and yet of many, not one seconded expectation; once again he summoneth the chief of the conspiracy by M. Porcius Lecca: When, being assembled, he findeth himselfe much agreeved at their backwardnes; sheweth them, how for his part he hath dispatched Manlius to those troops, whom long before he had prepared for armes: how he quartered others through the fittest places of the Citie, upon the first watch-word ready to enter into Action: and that now his chiefest desire was to take his journey towards the Army, if Cicero were dispatched, the only obstacle to all their projects. At this speech, his Auditory being at their wits ends, and objecting many difficulties; at last C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, the one a Knight, the other a Senator, undertook the performance; devising, a little after Twi-light, with their armed servants, by way of dutie, to go visit the Consull at his own house, whereinto beeing admitted, they protested suddenly to murder him being un provided, and least of al suspecting any such intention.

3. Quintus Curius, no sooner understood, unto what

eminent danger the life of the Consull stood exposed, but as swiftly hee flieth unto Fulvia, and revealeth unto her the intended execution. Upon intelligence whereof, the traitors receiving a denial of entrance, this their most heinous intention of murder sorted likewise to no conclusion.

CHAPTER IX

Cicero preserved by the intelligence of Fulvia

4. Mean while notwithstanding, Manlius acteth his part in Hetruria, and stirreth up the Commons, desirous inough of themselves of innovation, in remembrance of their poverty and hard usage; for that in the usurpation of Silla, they had bin pillaged of al they had, lands, goods, and necessaries. And besides that, the province swarmed with theeves and outlawes, wherof many of them were of the Colonies of Silla, to whom riot and Luxury had left nothing of their late rich and extortious booties remaining. Cicero being possessed of these inteligences, and having his thoghts trobled with ambiguous resolutions, for that neither by his private possibilities he could longer secure the city from danger, nor be truly instructed what forces Manlius had levied, nor who should be his abettor: he referred the determining of the busines to the wisedoms of the Lords of the Senat, inforcing his informations and inducements upon the general rumors and reports of the people. They againe (as in times of wonted dangers) give the Consuls authority to provide, that the state through their defaults suffred no damage, according to the ancient customs of the Roman people. This verbal forme of authority, committed to the soveraigne magistrate[1] by the Senat, hath at al times bin very powerful: for hereby, hath he sufficient warrant, to levy an army, to make war, to assesse confederats, Lord chief Justice in peace,[2] L. general of the war; otherwise, without the especial permission of the people, no Consull might be suffred to exercise the meanest of these roialties. Som few daies after L. Senius a Senator, shewed forth certain letters at the counsel table which he received from Fesulæ, and imported, that C. Manlius had bin

Manlius ingageth the people of Hetruria

[1] *Dictatoris edictum pro numine semper observatum.*
[2] *Abs quo non licebat provocare, aut ad alium judicem appellare.*

CHAPTER IX

in armes with no contemptible forces, before the 6. day of the Kalends of Nov. Besides (no strange thing in like cases) one discoursed of wonders, another of prodigies, som talked of Conventicles, others of secret provisions of furnitures: som reported that the slaves wer up in Capua, others in Apulia. Wherupon by an act of Senat, Q. Martius is dispatched to Fesulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia and the bordering countries. These two having born the office of L. generals, had beene denied their deserved triumphs through the city, by the malicious calumnies of som such, to whom it was familiar to set sutes of al natures, to open sales. The two Prætors, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Q. Metellus Celer, had their commissions, the one for Capua, the other for the Piceni, with authority likewise, for that time, and the diversion of this daunger, to inroll an Army. Moreover, proclamation was made, that if any man could give-in true information of this Conspiracy, intended against the safety and Majesty of the state, that he should be well and honestly rewarded: A Slave, to receive liberty, and one hundred Sesterces:[1] A free man his pardon, and two hundred thousand Sesterces. And lastly, they made a decree, that in Capua, and the residue of the suspected burroughs, every housholder should entertain the companies of the Fencers,[2] every man in proportion, according to his ability. At Rome, thorough the whole City, the Bourgers kept watch and ward, under the command of inferior officers. At which novelties the Citty stood amazed, and the countenance of the inhabitants dejected. Insteed of jollity and retchlesnesse, of which, assiduity of ease and security, had in a manner promised perpetuity, forthwith entered all kinds of passions and distemperature: one made speed to provide for his private safety, another trembled and had no power to resolve upon any course: Som doubted their welfare in their owne houses, and others could not determine in whom to repose any answerable confidence. The times they could not terme peaceable, neither doubted they

[1] 250 poundes. [2] *Ne tumultum moverent ut antea sub Spartaco factum est.*

the warre : and therefore feare measured out every man his danger, according to his owne apprehension. The women, to whom, in regard of the long prosperity of the state, the rumors of war were inacustomed, bewailed their fortunes, stretched their hands towards heaven, compassionated their litle ones, instanced the Gods, feared al things, and utterly forgetful of their yesterdaies pride and nicities, now distrusted the safety of themselves and their country. Notwithstanding, the cruel and unrelenting mind of Cateline stood resolute, yea, thogh his eie were his witnes of oposition and prevention, and that himself had bin in examination before L. Paulus upon the statute[1] Plautia. At last, either to set a good face on the matter, or to answere the objected accusation, as a man touched in honour, hee entreth the Senate. When, M. Tullie the Consull, either fearing his presence, or being mooved at his shamelesse impudency, made an excellent and profitable Oration, which afterwards he put forth in writing.

CHAPTER IX

Assoone as he had taken his place, being by Nature of a prepared disposition to dissimulation, Cateline, with a submissive countenance, and a sutable low voice, began to request the Lords, not rashly to beleeve whatsoever his ill-willers suggested against a man of his Ranke : That from his Adolency hee had behaved himselfe so, as in Honour they could not but make good constructions of his carriage : That they could not but wrong his calling, (sithence both himselfe and his Auncestors had wel deserved of the state) once to immagine that he would practise the destruction thereof, when such a one forsooth, M. Tullius Cicero, an upstart and a stranger, should labour to preserve it.

In the highest of which his calumnious expostulations, the whole Senate interrupted him, protesting him a Traitour and parricide to his Countrey.[2] Then all inraged, (quoth he) Sithence I am violently over-borne by the furie of mine enemies, nothing but ruine shall put an end to this quarrell.

[1] *Qua accusati conjurationis, statim respondere et se purgare cogebantur.*

[2] *Quia patria charior quam parens nobis debet esse, ideo Catelina in patriam conjuratus, hic paricida dicitur.*

CHAPTER IX

And thereupon, leaving the Court, he retired to his house. Where, revolving with himselfe, that neither the intended murder of the Consull sorted to purpose, neither that the fiering of the City could be effected, by reason of the stronge watches: foreseeing now, that but one onely course, and that of badde the best which was left him, was to reenforce his army, and to take up whatsoever warlike provision was necessary for his people, before the state had levied their armed Legions; at midnight in the company of a few, he taketh his journey towards the campe of Manlius: before his departure, intreating and commaunding Cethegus, Lentulus, and the most desperate of the crewe, by all meanes possible to containe the faction in strength and vigour, to hasten the death of the Consull, to be resolute for slaughter, fire, and the like miseries of war; for within a day or two he would not faile to approch the Citty with a powerfull army.

These were the passages at Rome: from the Campe C. Manlius had sent certain Agents of his rout unto Q. Martius, with these Overtures.

CHAPTER X

1. The Letters of Manlius to the Generall. 2. His answere. 3. Catelines colourable excuse of his journy. 4. His letter to the contrary

The letters of Manlius to the Generall

I CALL God and Man (most Woorthy Generall) to witnes, that we have taken Armes neither against our country, neither to the perrill of any private subject, but onelie to free our needy and miserable carcasses from injuries, from violence, and the oppression of Usurers: the most of us not daring to shewe our faces in our owne Countrey, and all of us in generall without credit or releefe. In which

estate, it was not lawful for any of us (according to the free- CHAPTER
dome of our Ancestors) to prosecute the clemencie of our X
auntient Lawes: neither (having forfetted our Patrimonies) to keep our bodies from imprisonment; so rigorously hath the Usurper and the Prætor oppressed us.

In former times, the compassion of our Elders, hath often acquited the disabilities of the Romaine people by actes of Parliament: And even but[1] *yesterday in our remembraunce, by the generall applause of all good men, order hath bin taken, by reason of the excessive interest, to pay the principall out of the publicke Treasury: yea, the very Comminaltie, either seduced by desire of superiority, or underhand armed by the Ambition of Great men, hath often disunited it selfe from the Union of the Fathers: but we (neither Ambitious of Empery, nor desirous of Riches, the motives of all Warres and discourtesies amongst mortall Creatures) request onely Liberty, the want whereof, no honest man can tollerate, but with the losse of his deerest life.*

Wherefore, upon our bended knees we intreat your worthinesse, together with the Lordes of the Senate, to provide for our miseries, and to restore us to that advantage of Lawe, of the which the partiality of the Prætor hath defrauded us: not inforcing us injuriously to that desperate extremity, wherin we can but onely study howe to satiate our insatiable swordes with execution of deepest revenge.[2]

2. To these Q. Martius made no other aunswere, but His answere
that, if they expected favour from the Lords of the Senate, they should not implore it in armed manner, but submissively to travell to Rome, where they might be assured, to finde such clemency and curtesie before the Lordes of the Senate, and the Roman people, as never any man yet importuned their mercy, that departed away at any time unpardoned.

3. But Cateline from divers stages in his journy[3]

[1] *S. recentissimè.*
[2] *Una salus miseris nullam sperare salutem.*
[3] *Ut incautos opprimeret.*

CHAPTER X

Catelines colourable excuse of his journy

dispatcheth away Letters to many of the Consulare dignity, and to every gentleman of quality; besides, intimating therby, that (since he was not of power to make his party good, against the faction of his Adversaries, who most falsly and malliciously had suggested many slaunderous accusations against him) hee was contented to yeilde to time, and to choose Massilia [1] for the place of his voluntary exile; not for that, forsooth, he was any way guilty of so heinous an imputation, but for the good and welfare of the state; least by his presence, peradventure some seditious partiality might arise in the state.

Contrary unto these Q. Catulus read other Letters before the Lords of the Senat, which (as he affirmed) were dated unto him under the name of Cateline. The Transcript whereof followeth.

L. Cateline to Q. Catulus, health.

His letter to the contrary

4. *Thy assured constancie, by triall experimented, and in my most weighty daungers never omitted, hath confidently waranted these my commendations unto thine unspotted loyaltie. For what reasons, I listed not, to frame my defence in that new Counsel, I am now determined to yeelde you satisfaction; and that, not out of a guilty conscience, which upon mine honour I protest to be true, but being first provoked by injurious disgraces; for that being denied the rewardes of my labours and deserts, I could not obtaine the place of dignity duely divolved to me, according unto my wonted custome. I have now taken upon me the publicke defence of the oppressed people; not for that, out of mine owne revenewes I coulde not satisfie my owne debts, since the onely liberality of Aurelia Oristilla and her daughter, was not onely sufficient to discharge myself and my sureties; but for that I observed men of no worth to be preferred to places of honor, and my selfe upon false suggestions, too*

[1] *Urbem antiquissimo fœdere Romanis conjunctam.*

injuriously rejected. Upon these terms I make no question, but to be able to preserve the remainder of my reputation. I was determined to have written more at large, but I was informed, that warrants were out to attach me. I not onely commend, but also intrust unto thy loyalty Oristilla: Defend her from wrong, (I beseech thee,) even for the love of thy deerest children. Farewell.

CHAPTER XI

1. Cateline commeth to the camp of Manlius.
2. The estate of Rome and the bordering Countreyes after his departure

BUT Cateline having made some small stay with C. Flaminius in the country of Aretium,[1] and leaving the City (before prepared) well fortified, departeth towards the campe of Manlius, accompanied with the Fasces, and other the Ensignes of Honour. Uppon intelligence whereof at Rome, the Senate proclaimeth Cateline and Manlius Traitours. To the residue of their partakers they limit a day, by which, if they surceased their armes,[2] all offences past were pardoned, except to those, who by name were condemned of Treason.

Cateline commeth to the camp of Manlius

The Consuls themselvs were commanded to levy forces: Caius Antonius with al expedition to pursue Cateline, and Cicero to guard the Citty.

2. At that time, in my judgement, the condition of the Roman people appeared most miserable: Unto whome, notwithstanding that all places from East to West were

The estate of Rome and the bordering Countreyes after his departure

[1] *Civitas municipalis in Hetruria.*

[2] *Quod prudentia S. factum est, ut sine periculo reip. principes conjurationis punirentur.*

CHAPTER XI

subjected by Armes, and that at home they wallowed in ease and riches (the onely two contents which all flesh affecteth :) yet fostered they within their owne bowels a viperous consort of fellow-Cittizens, who rather then they woulde surcease the obstinacie of their private Humours, cared not what became of themselves and their countrey. For, after the two proclamations, divulged by authority from the Senate, it was not knowne that anie one man of such a multitude, neither for lucre of the proposed reward, revealed any part of the conspiracy, neither uppon assurance of pardon, sought to flie from the partie. So desperat a contagion of revolt, like to a Pestilential Feaver had possessed the minds of the greater part of the people ; and worse then that, the zeale of those, who were guilty of the project, was not onely estranged, but the Universal body of the Commons in affectation of novelties, did as far forth as they durst, allow of the busines. But this could be tearmed no new accident ; for in all Commonweales, you shall ever finde some (who have little to lose) to mallice their betters, to speake well of the wicked, to mislike the present, to affect novelties, and in contempt of their owne Fortunes, to desire change. In tumults and uprores they take least care for their livings ; how ever the world goes, they can be no loosers.

But the Comminalties of Citties were led upon other respects and diversity of occasions : First, all those who were infamous for life and behaviour ; secondly, such as had wasted their stockes ; And lastly, those that durst not shew their heads for some notorious offences, (these I say) flocked into Rome, as into a common receptacle.

In the next ranke followed such as had not yet forgotten Sillas victory ; some of their companions they beheld raised from the degree of common souldiers, to the honor of Senators : Others, so advanced in wealth, that thereby they were now inabled to maintaine a bountifull Table, and to weare rich apparrell. If the matter were once again triable by Armes, every one hoped to share in like Fortune. As for those strong and youthfull bodies, whose hands could

scarcely find them a living by the day labour of the plough, (and in that respect had their fingers itching to be dealing in private and publicke rewards) were soon inticed to preferre the idle games of the citty, before the thriftlesse toile of the country : such were the hopes both of these and the former ; the publicke spoile was the mark they al shot at. So that (as before) it is no new matter, to see the poorest, basest, and worst-bred sort of people, to expect spoile and their owne inrichment, by the generall confusion of the state. CHAPTER XI

Yet remained they whose parents the victory of Silla had proscribed, defrauded of their goodes, and disinfranchised of their freedoms ; These, as the residue, lived likewise in hope to purchase some better fortune by the event of this warre.

Lastly, whosoever was of any other faction, save that of the Senate, did rather in his hart wish more welfare to the league, then good to the state. Thus forepassed corruptions, after many yeares, began again to returne into the Citty.

For after the Tribunitiall authority (G. Pompeius and M. Crassus being Consuls) was restored, certaine young men (whose blood was hot, and their courages violent) preferred to soveraigne jurisdiction, began, by accusing [1] the Lords of the Senate, first, to subborne the Commons, and afterwards, by bribes and promises to provoke them to furie.

Thus they gate them a name, and were mighty in the state. Against these men (under the protection of the Senat), the Major part of the Nobility stoutly opposed, to retaine their pristinate greatnesse. For to speake truth in a word, after these times, whomsoever ambition perswaded to trouble the state, he would be sure to colour his pretext with an honest title ; as som, The defence of Liberty, others The reverent authority of the Senat.

Every one pretended the common good, whilst hee

[1] *Sub prætextu boni publici. Sic* Virg. *Conjugium vocat : hoc pretexit nomine culpam, etc.*

CHAPTER XI

tooke most care to raise his private estate, and that without all modesty or measure: In contention, either side used their victories without any indifferency.

But after that C. Pompeius had his Commissions for the Warre at Sea,[1] and against Mithridates, the Plebeian power fainted and the Greatnes of a few increased, who immediately seized upon Magistracies, Provinces, and all other offices: Fearlesse of Competitors, Honourable in Titles, and growne old without any touch of adversitie. The inferiour sort they terrified with exemplarie punishments, the better to keepe them in awe of their Superiority.

But upon the first budding of innovation, their prestinat prerogatives brought passed sorances to remembraunce. Wherein, if in his first attempt, Cateline had had the better, or at least had departed upon equall termes, without contradiction, a miserable mis-fortune, and calamity had befallen the Common-wealth. For assuredly, the Conquerors should not long have triumphed of their victorie, a stronger party[2] being prepared and determined to bereave the weake, weary, and wounded conspiratour of his new purchased command and victory. There were many men besides, that knew nothing of the conspiracie, and yet in the beginning associated Cateline. Amongest these was Fulvius, the sonne of a Senatour, whom being retired, the father nethelesse commanded to execution.

[1] *Contra piratas, quos intra Quadragesimos dies subegit.*
[2] *Sic Augustus triumphabit de Antonio et Lepido.*

CHAPTER XII

1. Lentulus in the absence of Cateline, to his utmost strengtheneth the faction. 2. Umbrenus acquainteth the French Ambassadours with the Plot. 3. Sanga (an Intelligencer) cunningly procureth a draught of the confederacie

MEANE time Lentulus (acording to his instructions delivered him by Cateline) soliciteth by himselfe, or his Agents, whomsoever in his immagination conceited either dissolutenesse of manners or penurie, an apt instrument to entertain novelties: and heerein, he not onely practiseth with Citizens, but generally with al sorts of creatures; provided, that their service might any way stand in sted for the warre. Whereupon he dealeth with Umbrenus to sound the Ambassadors of the Allobroges,[1] and if he possibly could, to draw them to the action: which he conceited might with no great difficulty bee effected: first, because he knew them to be deeply indebted, aswell for their state, as for their private uses; and secondly, for that the French Nation by nature is inclinable to listen to innovation.

Lentulus in the absence of Cateline, to his utmost strengtheneth the faction

This Umbrenus, for that he had Traffiqued in Fraunce, did know, and was knowne unto most of the principal governours of the Citties, so that immediately after meeting with the Legates in the common Hall, hee began to question them of the estate of their citty, and (in a manner condoling their hard adventure) beganne to aske them, what remedy they expected to cure such, so great and insufferable greevances.

Umbrenus acquainteth the French Ambassadours with the Plot

For answere whereunto, when hee observed, that by

[1] Strabo. *Quorum metropolis erat Vienna civitas in Delphinatu.*

CHAPTER XII

their complaints they taxed the Magistrates of Avarice, and accused the Senate, as neglective of their redresse, and that they hoped for no release but by death : [1] Why then my Maisters (quoth he) if you will but shewe your selves men, I will teach you, how you shall easily acquit your selves of these evils. The Allobroges no sooner herd him to use these speeches, but they importune Umbrenus, that hee would take compassion of their miseries, protesting no commaunde to be so difficult or dangerous, but they would attempt it with earnest resolution, so as the performance might make satisfaction for the debts of their citty.

Heereupon he conducteth them to the house of Decius Brutus, adjoyning to the Towne-house, a man not altogether unacquainted with the complot, by reason of his wife Sempronia : but at this time out of towne.

Heere, to adde further credite to his speeches, hee sendeth for Gabinius. In his presence he relateth the full project of the Conspiracie, and nominateth the associates, and amongst them he interposeth the names of many of all degrees ; yea, Innocents, the readier to give courage and assurance to the mis-informed Legates : Then taking his leave with promisse of his utmost service, he dismissed them home.

The Allobroges stood long doubtfull, uppon what to resolve : On one side, their great debts, their inclination to warre, and the hope of rich spoiles presented secrecy : but on the other side, a stronger party, a safer course, and more assured rewards (in lieu of uncertaine hopes) perswaded discovery.

In middest of which their ambiguous revolutions, at last, by good hap the consideration of the commonwealth fortunately prevailed.

Sanga(an Intelligencer) cunningly procureth a draught of the confederacie.

3. And so with speed they fully discovered what they had heard, unto Q. Fabius Sanga, a man unto whose service the Citty had stood much beholden. And Cicero understanding by Sanga, how farre foorth matters had passed, commaundeth the Agents to dissemble an extra-

[1] *Q.d. mors ultima linea rerum.*

ordinary affection to the plot; to take a more strict occasion of acquaintance with the residue; to protest good liking and Constancy, and by all means so to dive into the secretest of the businesse, that, when time shoulde serve, they might be able to give in a most cleare evidence. CHAPTER XII

CHAPTER XIII

1. Metellus and Murena prevent the Conspirators in their Lieutenantships. 2. The wicked and desperate conclusions of Traitors.

AT this very instaunt divers commotions were afoot; in the further and hether Gallia, in the Countrey of Piceni, amongst the Brutians, and in Apulia. For those, whom Cateline had at first dismissed and dispersed, now like mad men without forecast or consideration, began to make night-assemblies, to dispose of armour and weapons, to hasten their dispatches, to disquiet all places, and that with more shew of feare, then appearance of daunger. Of this route Quintus Metellus Celer the Prætor, by authority from the Lords of the Senate, had committed divers to prison upon examination: The like did Caius Murena, Lieutenant of the hether Gallia. Metellus and Murena prevent the Conspirators in their Lieutenantships

2. But at Rome, Lentulus had plotted with the chiefest of the Conspiracy, that as soone as intelligence came, that Cateline had openly shewed himselfe in armes in the Territory of Fesulæ, that forthwith L. Bestia being Tribune of the people, should in the midst of their united forces, in a set and premeditated Oration, disgracefully complain upon the actions of Cicero, and by injurious imputation, maintaine the Originall of this most unkind war, to have The wicked and desperate conclusions of Traitors

CHAPTER XIII

first proceeded from the mallice of this most worthy Consull. This was the precedent Watch-word, whereby the residue of the Conspirators the night next insuing, should every man dispose of his imposed charge: which was said to bee thus ordered. That Statilius and Gabinius with a strong retinue, had in command to fire the City in twelve such places of oportunity, as should by concourse of people thereunto, give best and easiest meanes of accesse to dispatch their other intended executions, uppon the Consull and his associates. That Cethegus should attend his gate, and charge him resolutely with his forces. That no man should be unimployed: but rather then any villanie should be left unattempted, they wrought with the children of their acquaintance, (the greatest number whereof were of the Nobility) to slay their owne parents: that so, all places being in confusion, and all persons amazed with fire and slaughter, they might without opposition, troope towards Cateline.

Amidst these conclusions and executions, Cethegus incessantly taxeth the cowardice of his Companions, complaining that betweene their doubts and delaies, opportunity to doe great matters, overslipped their fortunes: that now being so deepely ingaged, it were more then time to do, and not to talke: that himselfe, if some fewe would assist, (though the general fainted,) would give the onset on the whole Court. The man by nature was fierce, sudden, and quicke in execution, resolving with himselfe that all good fortune attended expedition.[1]

[1] Lucan. *Tolle moras nocuit semper differre paratis.*

CHAPTER XIV

1. The Allobroges prosecute according to Ciceroes directions. 2. The project succeedeth. 3. Lentulus arraigned

BUT the Allobroges, by the instructions of Cicero, intreat Gabinius to assemble his nominated companions; At what time they require an oth of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Cassius, which they would under Seale present unto their Countrey-men; for otherwise, it were not likely, that without credence they would inconsiderately enter into so dangerous an Action. All of them, save Cassius, mistrusting no deceit, held it reasonable: He craveth absence, and promiseth speedy returne, but in truth departeth the citty somewhat before the Allobroges.

The Allobroges prosecute according to Ciceroes directions

At their departure, Lentulus sendeth in their companie one Titus Vulturcius of Croton, with instructions to take Cateline in their way homeward, and with him face to face by reciprocal oths, to confirm this their new ingagement. By him he also dateth his Letters to Cateline, the Tenour whereof, is as followeth:

Who I am, you shall understand by the messenger, that I send unto you. Forget not upon what tearmes your welfare now dependeth,[1] *and remember to play the man: Consider the nature of your businesse, and scorne not to implore assistance of any man; yea, of the meanest.*

Then he insinuateth by word of mouth, that sithence he is proclaimed Traitor by authority from the Senat, he should seriously debate upon what confidence hee should forsake or abandon the service of the Slaves: that in the

[1] *S. unde tuto regredi nequeas.*

CHAPTER XIV

Citty, his directions were at point of execution, and therefore, that hee should not faile to make all his approaches with all possible celerity.

All matters being thus ordred, and Cicero fully instructed by the Agents, he commaundeth L. Valerius Flaccus, and C. Pomptinus Prætors, upon the appointed night of the departure of the Allobroges, to set a secret and strong watch on the Milvian bridge, authorizing them to attach whomsoever they found travelling more then their owne company: and therewithal maketh them privy, for whose sake, and uppon what considerations he injoyneth them this charge; other occurrances he committed to time and their discretions, and so dismissed them with their limited forces: they againe without tumult, dispose of their watches, and secretly, according to their charge beset the bridge on all sides.

The project succeedeth

Assoone as the Agents with Vulturcius approached the place, and the usuall question on both sides demaunded; the Galles presently apprehending the meaning, foorthwith yeelded their bodies to the Officers: But Vulturcius, at first incorageth his company, draweth his sword, and defendeth himself against the multitude: but afterward finding himselfe forsaken of the Agents, he began to capitulate with Pomptinus (his auncient acquaintance) uppon pointes of good usage; but after that growing fearefull, and distrusting his life, he yeelded simply to the Prætors, as to a professed enemy, which businesse is no sooner thus ended, but word thereof is forthwith carried to the Consull.

Him infinit cares and infinit joyes do joyntly possesse: he rejoyced upon true grounds, for that the suspition of the Conspiracy was now made evident, and thereby the Common-wealth as good as already delivered: he grew pensive, for that he could not resolve what course to take, such men, of such ranke and quality being appeached of so heynous a Treason. He well foresaw, that punnishment would procure him scandall; and Pardon, his Countries ruine.

But taking courage unto him, he commaundeth Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Q. Ceparius also (who was even now booted and spurd for his journy into Apulia, there to move the bond-slaves) to apeare before him. All save Ceparius, obey without excuse: hee, by chaunce being abroad, and hearing of the adventure, flyeth. The Consull hand in hand leadeth Lentulus (for that hee had bin Prætor) into the Senate. The residue he willeth under safe custody to appeare in the Temple of Concorde: whether hee summoneth the Senate, and there before a general assembly of the Lords, presenteth Vulturcius with the Agents. Then commandeth hee Flaccus to open the Packet, which upon the way hee tooke from the Allobroges, which being read, Vulcurcius was demaunded: first, the cause of his journey, and who gave him those letters: and lastly, who was of Counsell with him in the businesse. CHAPTER XIV

At first, he began to excuse and conceale many points touching the Conspiracy: at last, uppon promise of pardon by publique oath, he discloseth all things as they had passed; protesting that he as a companion was sent for but a few daies before, and that hee could say no more, then could the Agents, but onely, that he had heard from the mouth of Gabinius, that P. Antonius, Servius Silla, and L. Vargunteius, with many more were privie to the Conspiracy. The Galles affirmed as much.

3. The Lords accused Lentulus, (who stoode stiffe in deniall) that besides these Letters, he had bin often heard to vouch certaine verses out of the Sibels: that The Soveraignty of Rome was destined unto three Cornelii, whereof Cinna and Silla were two, himselfe the third, whome fate would have to be sole-Lord of the Citty. Moreover, since the burning of the Capitoll, that this was the twentieth yeare, which the prodigies of the Aruspices prognosticated a yeare of blood and civill discord. Lentulus arraigned

Whereupon, the Letters beeing read, and every man confessing and acknowledging his seale, the Lords passed sentence, that Lentulus should be degraded, and together

CHAPTER XIV with the residue, committed to honourable custody: Lentulus to P. Lentulus Spinther, then Ædile: Cethegus to Q. Cornificius: Statilius to C. Cæsar: Gabinius to M. Crassus: and Ceparius (by pursute lately taken) to Gn. Terentius a Senator.

CHAPTER XV

1. The Humour of the Commons in cases of daunger. 2. M. Crassus is accused: how cleared. 3. Cæsar accused: the causes

The Humour of the Commons in cases of daunger

THE Commons,[1] constant in inconstancie, and who at first in their inherent dispositions to novelties, wished well to the war; now assoon as the plot was discovered, with chaunge of opinions, chaunged likewise their prayers into curses against Cateline and his Counsels, extolling Cicero to the heavens, and as people newly redeemed into liberty, made publicke demonstrations of joy and jollity; amplifying the conceits of their happinesse in this, that wheras all forraine Warres, are managed rather for spoyle then ruine: the resolution of fire was cruell, mercilesse, and most miserable, because it neither spared the beauty of their houses,[2] neither the daily necessaries of their bodies therein contained.

After this, one L. Tarquinius was brought before the Lords of the Counsell, being taken (as men sayed) in his journey towards Cateline. Who uppon assurance of the publicke faith, protesting to reveale what hee knew, touching the conspiracy, in a maner revealed the same things which Vulturcius before had discovered, concerning the

[1] Virg. *Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.*
[2] *Quibus quotidie utebantur.*

preparation of wild-fire, the slaughter of Innocents, and the journey of the conspirators: but withall, that hee was sent by Marke Crassus, to wish Cateline not to be any thing troubled at the aprehension of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the residue of the Conspirators, but the rather to redouble his hast of approach towards the citty, both to revive the declining courages of those that fainted, as also, to worke deliverance to those that were in durance. CHAPTER XV

But after that Tarquinius had appeached Crassus, so Noble a Personage, so rich, and so powerfull; some at no hand would beleeve it: but othersom, though they thoght it to bee true, yet considring the times, their private ingagements,[1] and the greatnesse of the man (rather to bee winked at, then any way exasperated) gave a generall censure, that the accusation was false; and so prayed the matter to be adjourned to another season. Whereuppon, by the approbation of Cicero, the more part of the Lords decreed, that the information of Tarquinius was false, that he should be committed unto prison, without allowance of making his further Purgation, unlesse he would disclose by whose counsell and advice he had bin seduced, to frame so notorious and false a scandall. M. Crassus is accused: how cleared

Some were of opinion, that this accusation was first devised by P. Autronius, of pollicy (by ingaging Crassus as a companion in danger) to protect the residue as copartners of like favour.

Others reported, that Tarquinius was sent abroade by Cicero, to deter Crassus from entertaining his accustomed defence of evil causes, to the disquiet of the state. And, I my selfe have hearde Crassus avouch, that this was a tricke of Cicero, to bring him into utter defamation and scandall.

3. At the same time Q. Catulus and Gn. Piso, exceedingly laboured Cicero, falsely to appeach Cæsar, either by the Allobroges, or any other witnesse; but they could never effect it, neither by intreaty, by flattery, nor bribery; both these persons, at that time did deadly hate him; Piso Cæsar accused: the causes

[1] *Ob debita et commercia privata.*

CHAPTER XV

for that *Plena curia* he had beene condemned in damages for an unjust punishment inflicted uppon a certaine Transpadan. Catulus tooke it to heart, for that, being an old man, and having borne the most Honourable Offices in the state, nowe in his suite for the Pontificacy, hee should bee opposed and displanted by Cæsar, a young man. But the matter was excusable, for that his private Liberality had procured him publicke friendes, and by that meanes, infinite debts.

But being utterly unable to worke the Consull unto so heynous a project; by private conference, and false suggestions, inforcing what they hearde Vulturcius and the Allobroges report, they provoked every mans evill opinion against him; so farforth, that many Roman knightes, which kept watch and ward before the Temple of Concord, either moved at the greatnesse of the danger, or inflamed by the Noblenesse of their minds, to manifest their loves to their Countrey, drew their irefull swords against Cæsar as he arose from the Senate.

CHAPTER XVI

1. The condemnation of the Traytors.
2. Cæsars Oration

The condemnation of the Traytors

THESE matters beeing thus debated in the Senate house, and the Lords as yet in Counsell about the bestowing of rewards upon the Allobroges and Vulturcius, with approbation of their testimonies, the freed men (with some fewe well-willers) of Lentulus, diversly solicited the Slaves and tradesmen of the Citty to rescue the Prisoner: Others of his familiars, inquired after the Ring-leaders of the Rascalitie, who in such times

were accustomed for money to disturb the peace of the Citty. CHAPTER XVI

But Cethegus by Messengers, desired his acquaintance, his choisest freed men, and his readiest followers, now or never to be resolute, and in troop with their naked swords to make way for his rescue.

The Consull having understanding of these designements, disposeth the Warders as time and place advised, and assembling the Senate, demanded of the Lords, what order they pleased to take with those who were already attached and remained in prison. A full counsell had already declared them guilty of Treason.

Thereupon D. Junius Sillanus (Consull elect) beeing first asked his opinion, what he would advise concerning the Prisoners, as likewise howe the residue, in case they could bee apprehended, should bee censured; gave sentence, that they should all [1] suffer punishment. And afterward (being moved at the speech of Cæsar) he protested that hee would singly avouch the sentence, with Tiberius Nero. As touching the Marshalling of secret companies, hee thought it fit to adjourne it to further deliberation: But Cæsar, whose turne was nowe to speake, by request of the Consull, used this or the like Oration.

Cæsars Oration

Honorable Fathers, it befitteth all men, who are to consult of doubtfull cases, to be free from hatred, friendship, passion, and pitty: [2] *where these contrarieties happen, the Judgement can hardly make distinction betweene truth and falshood: neyther liveth the man, which can flatter his affection, and judge uprightly. Our inclinations followe our fancies: if Liberty possesse them, then Will predominateth and Reason is of no regard. Honorable Lords, my memory is yet very fresh, to relate what Kings, and what Nations, being seduced by wrath or pitty, have run unfortunate courses:* [3]

[1] *L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus et Q. Annius.*

[2] *Sic* Maro: *Neque ille aut doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti.*

[3] *Ut Cæsari ipsi postea contigit, qui per clementiam illis pepercit, à quibus postea interfectus est.*

CHAPTER XVI

But it is a greater pleasure unto me, to relate how our predecessors governed their affaires orderly and judiciously, by subjecting the fury of their passions, to the mild perswasions of Reason.

In the Macedonian warre, which we managed with King Perseus, the stately and populer Citty of the Rhodians, (famoused by our assistance) became enemy and revolted from us. The warre beeing ended, the question arose, in what manner the Rhodians should bee punished. Our Auncestors, least the world should give out, that they made wars, rather for wealth then in revenge of injuries, freely pardoned their follies. So likewise, in all the Punique warres, when the Carthaginians both in times of peace and truces, had committed many outrages,[1] *our forefathers never gave out Letters of reprisall, but alwaies studied rather what became their greatnesse, then what severity of Law or armes required.*

Honourable Lords, as I take it, this should be your case, let not the offences of P. Lentulus and his associates, more prevaile with your passions, then becommeth the greatnesse of your callings: neither let wrath be saide to eclipse your Honourable reports. For, if a sufficient punnishment can be devised to equalize their defaults, I cannot but approve this newe Counsell: But if the quality of the offence exceed all immagination, then my opinion is, that they be punished according to the prescript forme of our ancient Lawes.

Many, who before mee have spoken their minds, have laide out in very eloquent and rhethoricall tearms, the miserable estate of the common wealth, the cruelty of Warre, the fortune of the conquered: agravating their discourses with the ravishment of Virgins, the tearing of children from the bosomes of their parents, the abusing of Matrons, the robbing of Temples, the Pillaging of houses; withall, not forgetting to move compassion, and passion, by recitall of woundes, fieringes, armes, slaughtred carcasses, and bloudy Funerals: Good God! to what end tended these their Orations, but to enflame your

[1] *Sub quibus classem Romanam invaserunt, et quos caperent, virgis cæciderunt, et tamen legati ad Scipionem missi, intacti ab eo ad Senatum sunt remissi, et inde incolumes et indemnes Carthaginem sunt reversi.*

displeasures against the offenders? As if any speech could exasperate that dull spirit, whom the least remembrance of so heynous a Treason (of it self) could not irritate. A Supposition impossible. Private injuries take deepest impression, yea with som men deeper then reason should Warrant. CHAPTER XVI

But Honourable Lords, in divers men, divers sorts of offences are tollerable. To those that live in inferiour callinges, if thorough passion they commit an oversight, few observe it: their eminences outshine not their fortunes: But the errours of great personages and men of quality, the whole Common-wealth doth forthwith take into examination. And this I speak, to proove that highest Fortunes have meanest priviledges to offend, neither ought they to be induced by favour, nor moved by hatred, and least of all, to be guided by anger.[1] *That which the Vulgar terme Anger in meane men, with greater Persons is censured to be pride and cruelty.*

Verily, (Honorable Fathers,) I am of this opinion, that no punishment can bee aunswerable to the quality of their offences: but the Natures of most men are given to remember the last ends of their familiars, and forgetting the fact, they comment on the punishment, if it never so little exceede moderation.

I cannot but acknowledge, that whatsoever the good and resolute D. Sillanus hath spoken, hath proceeded from zeale to his Country: and in this weighty businesse, I confesse, his integrity and modesty to be such, that thereunto, his Nature hath neither bin induced by flattery, neither over wrought by partiality. Neither can I justly say, that his censure any way savoureth of cruelty: for what can be tearmed cruell, that Justice can inflict upon such offenders. But surely, the precedent is not usuall in our Common-wealth; and therefore, either feare, or privat injury hath overwrought thee, (O Decius Sillanus Consull elect) to give thy consent to this new forme of punishment.

Of feare, it were idle to discourse, sithence such strong assistance is in armes, by the especial providence of this our

[1] Juven. *Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius, in se Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.*

CHAPTER XVI

worthy Consull. As touching the punishment, I can speake trueth as the case now standeth: That to men in distresse and misery, death is the end of sorrow, life a torment: Death dissolveth al mortal misfortunes: Beyond, there is no remembrance of griefe, nor place for joy.

By the immortall Gods, I wonder, that in giving your sentence, you did not give direction, that first, they should bee whipped with rods! was it for that the Law Portia did forbid it? Or that you had regarde to some other, late Law? Why? The Lawes do impose banishment, not death; but uppon a condemned Cittizen. Or was it, because you esteemed whipping to be a more greevous punnishment, then beheading? If so, then what can be bitter or over-greevous against men convicted of so heinous a Conspiracy? But if you overslipped the direction for stripes, as of a punishment too too gentle, how cometh it to passe then, that in the lesse, you make a conscience of equity, when in the greater, you proceede without doubt or scruple?

But why should any man be offended at that which is by Law decreed against Traitors to their Country? Time, alterations, and fortune, so powerfull amongst mortall Creatures, wil ratifie that nothing hath happened unto these men beyond their deserts.

Many evill conclusions have arisen from good Principles: as where the Helme hath bin intrusted to indiscreet and insufficient Pilots, these newe Presidents have beene commonly transferred from worthy and well-minded Cittizens, to base and incapable Ministers. So, the Lacedemonians having overthrowne the Athenians, committed the administration of their Common-wealth, to thirty Governors: At first, they attached the most notorious offenders, men generally hated, and executed them without Processe. The people applauded and commended the course, but by little and litle Liberty swarved into Lust: The Innocent and Nocent were condemned at their pleasures: the vulgar were terrified, and so the Citty oppressed with servitude, now miserably smarted for her foolish oversights.

In our daies, when the victorious Silla commaunded

Damasippus, and his damned crew, who had no meanes to live, but upon the generall spoile, to be worthily slaine; who commended not his judgement? Every man cryed, it was Nobly done to free the Common-wealth of such mercilesse, thriftles, and seditious Rascals: but what followed, this was the Originall of a cruell massacre: For, as any of his followers affected the mansion, the Lordshippe, yea, at last the plate or apparrell of any of the Comminalty, his course was, to do his endevour to inroll him in the number of the Proscripts. CHAPTER XVI

Honourable Lords, I speak not this, for that I suspect the like in Marcus Tullius, no nor in these times, but in this huge and populous Citty, it is not unknowne to you, that many and variable humours lie lurking continually.

And so, at some other time, and some other being Consull, with an Army at commaunde, a false report may happen to passe for truth; when, upon this precedent, if the Consull by Commission from the Senate, should unsheath his sworde, what end I pray you, should the state expect of this rash determination? Who shall limit his power? Who shall moderate his armes?

Honourable Lords, our predecessors were never to seeke of Counsell nor Courage, neither did Pride prevaricate their minds from following another mans advice, so it were profitable. To forge armes, and warlike furnitures they learned from the Samnites. The Ensignes of Magistracy, (for the most part) they borrowed from the Tuscanes: yea, what soever they sawe fitting amongst their allies, or Enemies, they tooke great care to bring the use thereof into the Citty. They admired Vertue in al men, they envied it in none: but in those times, in imitation of the Greekes, they punished a Cittizen with stripes, a condemned man, with death.

But in processe of time, as the common-wealth beganne to grow great by the multitude of inhabitants, jealousies increased, innocency was circumvented, and such like enormities were daily committed. For remedy whereof, the Law Portia, and divers other wholesom statutes were enacted; by which banishment was provided in cases of condemnation.

These Authorities (Honourable Fathers) in my Opinion

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should be Motives exceeding perswasive, to alter or frustrate these your new determinations. Beleeue it, the valours and wisedome of those men, who from so slender foundations have established so great, so glorious an Empire, could not bee, but much more eminent in them, then in us, who can hardly maintaine that, which they most providently bequeathed us. Howe then Sir? Will you have the Prisoners discharged, and the troopes of Cateline re-enforced? No surely. But my censure is, that their goods be forfeyted, and their bodies sequestred under safe custody in the best and strongest Townes of our Associats. With this Proviso, that no one of them hereafter be so bold, as to dare to motion meanes of redemption before the Lords of the Senat, neither to mediate his pardon with the people. Him that violateth this Ordinance, let the Senat proclaime him Traytour to the State, and enemy to all loyall Subjects.

When this Oration was ended, each man looked upon other, some assented, every mans minde was diversly distracted.

But at last Marcus Cato, being commaunded to speake his opinion; thus began his Oration.

Catoes Oration

Honorable Lords, revolving with my selfe the Nature of this weighty businesse: the goodly Arguments (I must bee plaine) which other men have thereuppon framed, are of no validity with mee to moove approbation. For, in my judgment, they have but onely spent time in discoursing, what punnishment were fitting for men intending the ruine of their Countrey, the undoing of their parents, the spoile of private houses, and the overthrowe of Religion.

But Noble Lordes, this storme calleth unto us for a speedy prevention, not a lingering Consultation. Offences already committed may be punnished at leasure; but it will be too late to talk of Justice, when remedy is past, and offenders growne puissant. If the Citty bee gained, what power (I beseech you) remaineth to the Conquered?

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For the love of the immortall Gods, let mee intreat you all, to whom beautifull houses, goodly revenewes, pictures, and costly hangings are more in admiration, then the Common-good; if you have any desire longer to be Lordes of these vanities (of what esteeme soever) if it be but to continue the meanes of these your delightes, now at the last pinch assume your courages, and let a true remorse of the generall Welfare wholy possesse your irresolute opinions. It is no time now to take order for impositions, or to talke of the injuries of our Associats; Our lives and Liberties at this instant are questionable. Honourable Lordes, I have often spoken my minde freely in this thrice-Honorable assembly; I have made sundry motions touching the Ryots and Covetousnesse of this state, procuring to my selfe no small hatred thereby: but I, who could never flatter mine owne imperfections, could lesse indure the insolencie of Others. And though you gave but small credit to my sayings, and nethelesse the Common-wealth florished; yet (beleeve it) Prosperity onely excused your remisnesse.

I speake not this, as if time now served to dilate, whether we are degenerated in manners or no: Neither how great, or how glorious the Roman Empire is, or hath bin: But whether this greatnesse, this glory (be they more, be they lesse) are like to continue ours, or we enforced to part stakes with our enemies. I know some of you by your silences, woulde interrupt mee, with Mercy and Mildnesse! But alas: we have long agon lost the true Etimologies of those words: for, now adaies, to be prodigall of another mans goods, is to bee bountifull: daring to do deeds unlawfull, unseemely, etc., is to be valourous. In such extreames doth the state now stand. Well, let us tolerate their abuses, because they are inveterate, and time hath made them fashionable; let men be wastfull of that which is none of their owne: Let us be mercifull unto Theeves and robbers of our publique treasure: yet, I pray you, let them not likewise bee prodigals of our blouds, and we, by foolish pitty extended to a few desperats, undoo millions of honest Cittizens. I confesse that C. Cæsar hath shewed great learning before this Honourable Court, in his distinctions of

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life and death: supposing (as I conceit) that the received Opinions of hell are false; or that, evill doers are seperated from the good, and destinated to places obscure, vile, stinking, uncleane and full of horror: And so drawing towards an end, he woulde have their goods forfeited, and their bodies committed to safe custody in the Borroughes of our associates, fearing (belike) that if they remained in Rome, they might happen to be rescued, either by popular commotions, or waged multitudes: as though forsooth all evill-disposed persons resided onely in Rome, and none lay dispersed throughout the townes of Italy. Surely wise men know, that rash and violent attempts are easiest affected, where least meanes of opposition are feared: And therefore, if his feares arise upon such like surmises, his plot is ridiculous: Or, if he onely in so universall an apprehension of feare, feare nothing at all; because I am so much the rather induced to bee fearefull both of mine owne safety, and of yours also. Therefore (Honourable Lords) whensoever it shall bee your pleasures to ratifie your Judgement against Lentulus, and his associats, beleeve it with constancy, that then you undo Cateline, and disperse his confederates: the sooner ye doe it, the sooner you breake them: Delay is dangerous: it hopeth, it resolveth. Never let it enter your Opinions, that by armes our forefathers augmented our Patrimonies: For, if that were true, then at this day would it prove farre more glorious, in that time hath given us, not onely advantage, but also surplusage of Allies, of Cittizens, of warlike furnitures, and Horsses of service: No, no, my Lords, of those vertues, which made them so powerfull, and so fortunate, wee have not one left us; Thrift in Private, Justice in Publicke; free Language in Parliament; Lives spotlesse, Mindes unpassionate. In lieu whereof we possesse Ryot and Avarice: In times of Service, pretensed povertie: to serve our owne turnes, aboundance and plentie. We admire Riches, and embrace Sloth: betweene Vertue and Vice we put no difference: Ambition incrocheth, where desert onely should have preheminence. And no marvell! for everie one of us holde Counsels apart: At home wee worke for our privat interests: heere we speake for Meed or favour.

So on all sides the Common-wealth wringeth: But no more of these greevances. CHAPTER XVI

Our fellow-Cittizens, and those discended of most Noble families, have conspired the invasion of their Countrey! They have done their utmost in the quarrell, to ingage the French, a Nation alwaies in deadlie hatred of the Roman name. The Captaine of the Warre, in person braveth you at your gates: and yet, you stand looking one uppon another; doubtfull and irresolute what to do, with those whom you have apprehended within your wals. Shall I enforme you? Then thus: They are young Gentlemen, deceived thorough foolish Ambition: Let them find favour: yea, let them depart armed; without doubt, this your lenity, and pittie, uppon the next occasions, shall turne you to miserie.

The maine is bitter, ful of horror, but you feare it not! Yes iwis; and that extreamelie: why then like cowards and men of basest mould stand you still, straining curtesie who shal march formost? Well, I know the reasons. Now, as in former times, in most iminent dangers you trust that the immortall Goddes will turne all to the best. Fooles that wee are! To think that the Gods will be won by Womanish vowes and idle Sacrifices, without watching, without painstaking, and good Counsel. Where these stand joyntly imployed, al things come to happie ends. At Sloth and Cowardice the heavenly powers are offended.

In the daies of our Ancestors, A. M. Torquatus adjudged his sonne to death, for that against the commaund of his generall, he had happilie fought with his enemie. And he, (most worthie young Gentleman) accordinglie suffered the punishment of rash valour: And do you now aske, what shall be done unto these most mercilesse Traitors?

Sir, their fore-passed life merriteth some mittigation. Bee it so: Deale favourably with Lentulus for the honour of his house, if he at any time favoured his owne good name, his calling, Gods, or men. Let the adolescencie of Cethegus, be a Motive of mercy, if this be not the second rebellion wherein hee hath beene interessed.

What should I say for Gabinius, Statilius, Ceparius?

CHAPTER XVI

If they had bin men of any moderation, they woulde never have ingaged their estates in such dangerous complots against their country.

Honourable Lords, if I could discerne any meane hopes, I could be well content to see you moderatelie beaten with your owne negligences, for that you regard not good Counsel. But since we are beleaguered on everie side: Cateline hovereth over our heads with an armed power: his associates are within our wals, even in the heart of our Cittie, and nothing can be dispatched in Counsell with secrecie: (weightie inducements of speedie resolution). For these reasons, and for that (most Honourable Fathers) the Common-wealth hath runne into apparant danger, by the practises of these Traiterous Cittizens, alreadie convicted by the Testimonies of T. Vulturcius and the Allobroges: and themselves have confessed their intentions to kill, to burn, and to commit manie other lamentable and unspeakeable outrages against the Citty, and this state: My censure is, that More majorum, *punishment bee inflicted upon them, as upon Traitors condemned of high Treason, by their owne confession.*

Cato being set downe, the Consuls, with the greater part of the Senate, approved his sentence, and highly praised his courage. And while one accuseth the other of faint and remisse courage, Cato obtaineth the attributes of Great, and Excellent. According to his censure they passe a Decree.

And because these two, M. Cato, and C. Cæsar (men of excellent parts, but of divers Natures) lived in my time, I thinke it not amisse, to adde unto this my discourse, a Comparison of their lives and actions.

A Comparison of M. Cato, and Ca. Cæsar

In discent, in yeares, and eloquence they were almost equall: in greatnesse of mind and populer commendation alike, but diversly. Cæsar affected the Sir-name of Great, by Largesse and Bountie: Cato by Integritie of

life. Cæsar became famous for his curtesie and gentlenesse; Cato for his sterne carriage and severity. Cæsar grew popular by giving, by forgiving, by releeving: Cato by contraries. The one profest refuge to the oppressed: the other, inexorable to offenders. The one was praised for affability: the other for gravity. Cæsars chiefest felicity was, to labor, to watch, to prefer the suits of his favourites, to be careles of his own, to deny nothing worth giving: of command, of Soldiery, of difficult wars (wherein valor and good conduct shewed the man) very desirous: But Catoes studies were modesty, grave carriage, and above all, severity. With the rich, he contended not for Riches, neither with the factious, for followers; but with the valourous, by imitation: with the modest, in Conscience, and with the good man, in abstinence. He coveted to be, not to seem. The lesse he sought praise, the more it followed him. Thus much for this. CHAPTER XVI

CHAPTER XVII

1. The counsel resolved to follow Catoes opinion: commaund their sentence to be executed upon the Offenders

AFTER the Senate (as I told you before) had resolved to followe Catoes opinion, the Consull letting no time slip, to prevent al disturbances, made every thing ready against night, which now drew on apace. He commaunded the three executioners to prepare themselves: he disposeth the warders, and leadeth Lentulus to prison: So are the residue by the Shirifs. In the prison is a dungeon called Tullianum, into which, after a man is a little entered, upon the left side, is a roome scarce

The counsel resolved to follow Catoes opinion: commaund their sentence to be executed upon the offenders

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twelve foote high, walled rounde about, and overhead vaulted with a stone Arch, exceeding darke, unsavorie, and able to amaze any mans sences. Into this place was Lentulus commaunded, where the executioner did forthwith strangle him. So this Noble Gentleman discended of the ancient house of the Cornelii, and once Consul, ended his life according to his deserts: so did Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, after the same manner.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Cateline joyneth with Manlius, and supplying his Legions with men of better condition, casseth the slaves: 2. He understandeth the discoverie of the Plot, and how his friendes fared at Rome: 3. He flieth

Cateline joyneth with Manlius, and supplying his Legions with men of better condition, casseth the slaves

AS these thinges thus passed at Rome, Cateline by uniting his forces with Manlius, maketh two Companies, with winges proportionable to his numbers. And as his companies increased, either of voluntaries, or of such as were sent unto the campe from the confederats, hee divided them equally betwixt the Legions, and so at length supplyed their defects, which in the beginning wer not above two thousand strong. The fourth part of his people were not souldier-like armed, every man tooke what came next to hand; some Darts, some Lances, others very sharpe and keene Bore-speares.[1]

And now hearing of the approaches of Anthony, hee journieth by the mountaines; somtimes bending towards

[1] *Ut in quolibet tumultu et seditione fieri solet.* Virg. *Hic torre armatus obusto, Stipitis hic gravidi nodis, etc.*

the Citty, sometimes towardes France, cunningly avoyding all occasions of hazard, uppon assurance, that if his Complices had once brought their determinations to execution in the Citty, that forthwith his forces woulde bee strongly reenforced. Upon which his imagination hee casseth the slaves; of which sort of people,[1] no small numbers trusting to the report of the strength of the confederacie, had in the beginning flocked unto him, knowing in his conscience, that to communicate his cause, and the good estate of the citty, to slaves and fugitives, could not but with reason impaire the credit of the action. CHAPTER XVIII

2. By this time newes arrived at the camp, how the conspiracy was detected, the Noblemen executed, and their followers (whom either the giddy Love of warre, or the hopes of spoile had animated) were dispersed and discouraged. He understandeth the discoverie of the Plot, and how his friends fared at Rome:

3. Whereupon, Cateline without expectation of further assistance, with his present forces, by long marches and the rough mountaines, taketh his way towards Pistoia, of purpose, by by-waies secretly to have fled into Gallia Transalpina. But Quintus Metellus Celer, who lay about Picenum with three Legions, by circumstances of casualties, judging of events, and understanding by certaine fugitives, what way the Rebels tooke, dislodged, and pitched his Campe at the foot of those hilles, by which Cateline must of necessity discend, to passe into Gallia. Anthony (for that he followed the flying enemy by beaten and usuall Highwaies) soonest arrived: which when Cateline perceived, as also, how he was incircled by the vast Mountaines, and the enemies Cavalry, so that hee could no waies flie, and to expect further succours was bootlesse; he there resolved to hazard the fortune of the battaile. To his Souldiers he made this Oration. He flieth

[1] *Ignavum et infidele hominum genus.*

THE CONSPIRACIE

CHAPTER XIX

1. Catelines Oration to his followers. 2. The description of the battaile

Catelines Oration to his followers

OMPANIONS in Armes, full well I know, that wordes enflame not Noble hearts, neither that a cowardlie and base Souldier, is any whit animated by his Generals speeches. For, what portion of courage Nature hath implanted in a valourous brest, such will it shew it selfe in times of triall. But the minde, that is neither incited by Honour, nor made resolute by danger, will never be moved by generous speeches: for feare anticipateth hearing.

But (Noble souldiers) I have called you to this assemblie, partlie to give you a few instructions, partlie to acquaint you with my determinations. It is not unknown to you, what mischiefes the cowardice and irresolution of Lentulus hath heaped both upon himselfe and us; and by our daily expectation of succours from the Citty, we have lost the opportunity of passing into Gallia. In what estate we stand thereby, you may all conjecture.

Two Armies pursue us; One, from the Citty, another from Gallia. To stay long in these desarts (how endurable soever your courages may perswade you) poverty of all necessaries, and want of food, will forbid us; and yet, the way to give remedie to these miseries, must nethlesse be wrought by your swordes. Wherefore, I intreat you, to take courage and comfort, that as I shall lead you to the charge, so you would remember, that you carrie in your right handes your fortunes, your honours, your Glorie, your Country, and your Pardons.

If the day be ours, we are made for ever: we shall soone get food in abundance, to sustaine our hungry carcasses; Townes

and Colonies shall be assigned us; but if we yeeld to base feare, we shall finde all thinges contrary: Neither place, nor friende will protect him, whom his owne sword cannot succour. CHAPTER XIX

Besides, their case and ours is not alike: Our quarrell is for the good of our Countrey, for the general defence of Liberty, for the safeguard of our lives: Theirs, for the pleasures and greatnesse of a few private persons. Wherefore, let the justnesse of the quarrell stirre up our greater resolution, by the remembrance of our ancient valours.

Time was, wee mought have spent the remainder of our daies in disgracefull banishment, and many of you might still have lived in Rome, uppon expectation of (I know not what fortunes) having nothing of your owne (but Beggery) to trust unto: but because such men as we are, cannot but scorne such base courses, we have made choice of this; which, if you meane to make good, then shew deeds correspondent. None but the Conquerour can convert warre into peace, and to thinke to find safety in flight, by forsaking your Armes, or abandoning your naked bodies to your enemies, were a point of madnesse beyond extreame. In a set battaile, no danger is comparable to feare; Resolution is unconquerable.

(Valiant Companions) even the opinion of your woorthes, your former exploits, and your yeares fit for warre, warrant my conceits of good fortune.

I will silence necessities, true motives to make Cowardes couragious: the streights of the Mountaines forbid our Enemies to inclose us; and therefore, if our destinies be to die, set your lives at a deare rate: die not unrevenged, neither suffer your selves to be taken Prisoners, afterwards to be cut in pieces rather like Dogges, then men of service. Leave nothing to your enemies to boast of, save a Lamentable and bloudie victorie.

2. After a little pausing, he commandeth to sound to the charge, and Marshalling his battallions in very seemely order, approcheth the place of encounter. Where being arrived, hee causeth every man to dismisse his horse, that the daunger being alike, their hopes and constancie should

The description of the battaile

CHAPTER XIX

be equall; yea, himselfe on foote, rangeth his people, as the Nature of the place and his numbers would permit.

The plaine was fortified on the left hand with Mountaines; on the right, with a steepe rocke: Betweene these he brought the vauntgard consisting of eight Cohortes: the Areregard he commaunded to march more close, and in it he placed the chiefe and choisest Centurions.

The Mercinaries and best armed, made the first rankes of the battell: Caius Manlius marched on the right hand, a certaine Fesulan on the left: Himselfe with his fellow-Cittizens, all free men borne, and the aides of the Colonies, stood next unto the standard of the Eagle, the same, they say, that C. Marius displaied in the Cimbrian warre.

On the other side, C. Antonius being sicke of the Gout, could not be at the combate, and therefore made M. Petreyus his Lieutenant Generall. Of old souldiers (pressed out for the suddennesse of the businesse) he made the vaward; the residue he placed behind for succor and advantage. Then gallopping through the rankes, calling upon every Captaine by name, he conjureth, he commandeth, he intreateth, that that day they would shewe themselves men, and call to remembrance that they were to fight but against a rable of unarmed fugitives, for their Countrey, their children, their Religion. This Martiall man had bin above thirty yeares Tribune, and either as Generall, Lieutenant, or Colonell had borne the Offices in many fortunate battailes, wherein he knew the sufficiency of his followers, and their valiant exploits; by repitition whereof, he doubled their courages.

All places thus ordered, hee soundeth the signall, hee marcheth somewhat forward, and then maketh a stand: the like doth Cateline. Then the battailes aproching within shot, they runne fiercely to the shocke, with divers clamors, and deadly hatred. The shot being spent, they fall to their swords. The old Soldiers disdaining to be foiled, go resolutely to the charge, and are as valiantly received, both dooing their utmost. At last, Cateline comming in with his light armed followers, into the head of

the battalions, refresheth the weary, planteth fresh soldiers in the places of the wounded, hath an eye uppon all chances, giveth and taketh many strokes: and finally, performeth the part of a valiant souldier, and an excellent Commander.[1] CHAPTER XIX

Petreyus, assoone as hee perceived the station of Cateline, imagining that there his people should bee sorest travelled; without more ado, chargeth into the midst of his enemies with the Pretorian Cohort, speedily disordereth their rankes, and slayeth as many as make resistance. Then turneth he head upon the winges, and at the first shocke slayeth Manlius and Fesulanus.

When Cateline saw this miserable spectacle, his armie defeated, and few left about him; calling to mind the Honour of his house, and his auncient dignity, thrusteth into the thickest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting, was slaine.

The battaile beeing ended, what valour and courage had bin in Catelines people, was plainely to be discerned: For what parcell of ground any one made choice of, to stand on in fight, the same being slaine, his slaughtered carcasse covered. Onely a few, violently overborn by the fresh charge of the Pretorian cohort, lay somewhat farther removed; yet al with their deaths-wounds upon the foreparts of their bodies.

The bodie of Cateline was at length found dead amongst the slaughter of his slaine enemies, not yet altogether breathlesse, but in countenance shewing some tokens of his living fiercenesse.

At a word, not one free Cittizen was taken alive, either in fight or flight; neither partie made spare of their owne bloods: So farre forth, that the victory prooved neyther joyfull, nor unbloody to the Roman people. For the bravest men were either slaine in fight, or dangerously wounded. Of many, that went out of their Tents, whether

[1] *Laus optimi imperatoris:*

Resolve I cannot whether he,
A better Chiefe, or Souldier be.

CHAPTER XIX

to gaze upon the place of the battaile, or to rifle the dead bodies of their Adversaries: some found their friends, some their Hosts, some their Kinsmen, and amongst them many of their knowne enemies. Insomuch, that the whole Campe was replenished with diversitie of humors; of joy, of heavinesse, of Triumph, of Mourning.

FINIS.

C. C. SALUSTIUS

HIS HISTORY OF

THE WARRE OF JUGURTH

C. C. SALUSTIUS

HIS HISTORY OF

THE WARRE OF JUGURTH

THE PROËME

FALSE and frivolous is this generall complaint of Mankind: That Nature hath not onely endowed us with weake bodies, and those of short continuance; but also hath subjected them more to the influence of Fortune then to the predominance of Vertue.[1] For, upon mature advice, if we coulde call our indowments into consideration, we should find no Planet to bee of like operation, or greater efficacy to preferment. To the atchievment whereof, we may more truly lay the blame upon our want of industry, then eyther uppon the shortnesse of life, or indigence of meanes. For without doubt, the Mind is Lord and Monarch of Mortality:[2] which whensoever it resolveth to climbe the adventurous passage of Advancement by the path of Vertue,[3] it shall finde it selfe aboundantly furnished with sufficiency, and favours powerfull and eminent; without any way being beholding to the inconstancy of that disgracefull Goddesse; for that shee hath neither meanes to give, nor power to bereave us

[1] *Clamantes ut poeta: Fortuna immeritos auget honoribus: Justos illa viros pauperie gravat: Indignos eadem divitiis beat, etc.*

[2] *Animum rectum, bonum, quid aliud voces, quam deam in humano corpore hospitem.*

[3] Sen. *Neminem dedignatur, qui modo se dignum illâ judicaverit.*

THE PROËME

of our good reputation, of our industrie, no nor of the least of any of our vertuous inclinations. But when we enthrall these so powerfull instincts to sloth, base motions, and bodilie pleasures; and therein have worne out our strong bodies, our irrecoverable youth, and excellent wits: then is it Error, and no just complaint to accuse Nature of weaknesse and infirmity, our selves being the workers of our own woe by pretence of impotencie and difficulty.

But had we the like alacrity, to ayme at the fairest objects, as we have inclination to affect the basest courses, and those of no worth, yet full of hazards; we should be as ready to resist fortune, as fortune were able to crosse our intendments:[1] yea we should share so farre forth with glory and greatnesse, that in despight of Oblivion our names after death should participate of eternity.

For as wee are compacted of Soule and body: so all our thoughts, words, and actions follow some the frailties of the flesh, som the vertues of the Soule. And therefore by the infallible law of Nature, beauteous faces, immeasurable riches, and strongest bodies, shall in short time decline and perish: All things that have a beginning, must of necessitie have an ending; somtime falling before they are blossomed; but how ever, wayning before they are fully come to perfection. But the gifts of a vertuous mind are subject to no such limitations; they are, as the Soule, Immortall, Time-scorners, the guides of life; resisting all things, commanding all things, containing all things, yet uncommaunded and uncontained of any.

Which high and Soveraigne Prerogatives make me the more to wonder, to see men spend the whole date of their dayes, in Revelling, Ryot and Idlenesse,[2] suffering their wits, (the richest Ornament of humane bodies) for want of courage and imployment, to rest base and vulgar, especially sithence the mind affordeth such store and diversity of means to rise to advancement.

[1] *Nullum numen habes, si fit prudentia, etc.*

[2] *Dum servitur libidini facta est consuetudo: et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas.*

THE PROËME

But it should seem, that men thus qualified in these daies, affect not Offices, Superiority, and imployment in the state, because vertue is neither countenanced, nor those who have attained preferment by indirect courses, the freer from Disgrace,[1] nor accounted more honest. For although by their supereminence they have jurisdiction over their country and parents, and may punish offences, yet is the Precedent distastfull, for that all innovation[2] irritateth Discontents, Jelousies, Quarrels, and Scandall.[3] Whereas on the other side againe, to gape after a thankelesse Office, and to reape for our labours nothing but Envy, is as extreame a part of madnesse: unlesse it bee for him, whome a prejudicate and factious[4] humour of power possesseth, thereby to gratifie the ambition, abuses, and partialities of a few great personages.

But to come to my purpose: of all taskes that the minde can undertake, I hold none to be of greater use, then History:[5] of whose excellency, because many famous men have worthily discoursed thereof, I will forbeare to speake, least some severe censurer, should tax me of affectation for praising the profession wherein (I confesse) I take most delight: Yea, and I am in perfect beleefe, that othersome (for that I was once determined to spend the remainder of my daies in vacancy from State-Affayres) wil not stick to write upon the forhead of these my laborious and profitable studies, the Titles of Sloth.[6] But my best hope is, they wil prove only such, who onely account it a worke of industry to complement with the people; or by making good cheere, to captivate mens favours: Who, if it please them to remember in what times I was chosen to Office, and what men at the same times were put by, with the insufficiences of such, as afterwardes were chosen into

[1] *Cum non justis suffragiis jus obtinuerint.*
[2] *Hoc est, regi per Magistratus non electos liberis suffragiis.*
[3] *In Magistratibus neque salus nec requies, nisi benè utentibus.*
[4] *Ut fecêre aliqui in favorem Cæsaris, Pompeii et Augusti.*
[5] *Historia est testis temporum, lux veritatis, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis.*
[6] *Quia absque magno labore* (*sed non sine Arte*) *videtur scribi Historia.*

THE PROËME

Parliament, they cannot but acknowledge that I changed my mind uppon due considerations,[1] and not upon any inclination to Sloth: and that the common-wealth is likely to reape more profit by my times of leysure, then by the continuall imployments of some other. For, I have often heard Q. Maximus, P. Scipio, and others our honorable Predecessors report, that the intentive contemplation of the Medalls[2] of their Auncestors, hath often inflamed their minds to Emulation: not that the painting, or the liveles protraiture had any such influences in them, but that the recording of their glorious actions, did disperse such a *Bout feu* of imitation in their spirits, that it could never bee extinguished, untill they had equalized their highest Vertues.

But in these times of corruption, what man liveth, that contendeth not with his fore-fathers in acquisition of riches and expence, but neyther in honesty, nor industry? Even upstarts,[3] who in the olde world were accustomed to enter the ranke of Nobility, by worth and sufficiency; in these daies, lay their plots for preferment by sinister endevours, and not by vertuous courses: As if the Prætership, Consulship, and such like offices, were in themselves simply Noble,[4] and not graced by their worths who manage such places. Thus have I given my pen her liberty, confessing, that the corrupt and degenerate manners of the Citty, hath made it forgetfull of duty; for recompence whereof, I will now betake me to my taske.

[1] *Sapientis est mutare propositum, si res mutentur.*
[2] *Unde dici solet picturas et cœlaturas illiteratorum esse libros.*
[3] *Quorum majores nunquam fuere in eo Magistratu.*
[4] Ter. *Qui ista bona vocant, perinde sunt atque qui illis utuntur.*

WARRE OF JUGURTH

CHAPTER I

1. Reasons inducing the Authour to write this History. 2. Massinissa entreth aliance with the Romans. 3. The vexation and cares of Misipsa his Sonne and successour. 4. The commendation and qualities of Jugurth. 5. His fortunes

N this Booke, my purpose is, to write the Warre which the Romane people undertooke against Jugurth King of Numidia: First, because it was weighty, cruell, and doubtfull: Secondly, for that about this time, the people avowed their first discontents against the surquedrie of the Roman Nobility: a contention whereby al Divine and humaine lawes were wrapped in confusion; and afterward proceeded into such raging fits of succeeding madnesse, that Italy was almost wasted, before their civill warres ended. Reasons inducing the Authour to write this History

But for the Readers better understanding and more satisfaction; before I enter into the maine of the History, I will first begin with matter of more ancient discourse.

2. In the second Punique warres, wherein Hanniball the Carthaginian Captaine, had after their manifold good fortunes almost laide desolate the Italian Provinces, and wasted their forces: Masinissa king of Numidia, was received by Scipio (afterwards for subduing Affrica, Surnamed Affricanus) into the Romane alliance. A man for Military prowesse and valor much renowned, and whom, after the overthrow of the Carthaginians and the taking of Sciphax (a Lord of a spacious kingdom in Affricke) the Romane people in reward of his good and loyal service, frankly invested with those cities and provinces, which by force he had gained from Sciphax. By this meanes, the Masinissa entreth aliance with the Romans.

CHAPTER I

friendship of Masinissa, continued profitable and constant: but hee finished his life no sooner then his Empire tooke ending.[1] Manastaball and Gulussa, his Brethren, being dead, the kingdom divolved unto Micipsa, as sole-heyre. He had two sonnes Adherbal and Hiempsal. Jugurth, the sonne of his Brother Manastabal, whom (being base borne) Masinissa had left in private estate, he brought up in his owne house with like allowance as hee proportioned to his owne children; who comming unto mans estate, grewe strong of body, comely of feature, and quicke of apprehension: not giving himselfe to ryot or wantonesse, but according to the custom of that Nation, addicted to riding, to cast Dartes, or to runne matches with his Compeeres: wherin although he alwaies carried the prize from the residue, yet was he neverthelesse generally beloved.

The vexation and cares of Misipsa his Sonne and successour

3. Thus spent he his youth, sometime in rowsing the Lyon and other wilde Beasts, wherein he would be sure to be the man, that should give the first stroke. In these disports, he would do most; and beeing ended, speake least of himselfe. Of which Princely carriages, although in the beginning Micipsa rejoyced, esteeming his Vertues as an Ornament of his Court, yet revolving his old age and the minority of his Children, with the popular applause, which he observed every day more then other, to increase by the youth and towardly disposition of Jugurth, beeing much disquieted in mind, he began to forecast many casualties in his thoughts. The fraile Nature of man thirsty of soveraignety, and headstrong to execute the deseigns of ambition, did present him his first feares. The second, arose from the consideration of his owne yeares, and the nonage of his children, the oportunity whereof only, were of marvailous efficacy to transport men of meane discents and aspiring spirits to hopes of high places; the last scruple that possessed his imaginations, was the populer love and dependancie of the Numidians: from whom, if by some polliticke plot, hee should make away so worthy

[1] *Quia tam parum duravit successorum regnum, ut non regnasse videantur.*

a subject by immature death, hee stood farre more doubtfull of ensuing warres and uprores. CHAPTER I

The commendation and qualities of Jugurth

4. Being confounded in these passions, and well weighing that a Man in so Gracious acceptance of the people for his ready service, and love to martiall Adventures,[1] could not with safety be wronged neither by law nor subtiltie; resolved to oppose him to dangers, therein to undergoe the fate of his fortunes. And thereupon Micipsa createth him Lorde Generall of those horse and foot, which were sent for Spain in assistaunce of the Romane people: hoping either by rash valour, or some blow from the enemy, to heare news of his kinsmans death. The event crossed expectation. For Jugurth as he was of a quick and apprehensive wit, observing the Nature of Scipio his Generall, and the behaviour of the enemy, with especiall care and performance, modestly obeying the commands and wils of the Officers, did oftentimes oppose against and prevent many eminent dangers: insomuch that in short time the name of Jugurth onely grew famous thorough the Army, highly beloved of our people, most dreadfull to the Numantines. And to give him his due, a thing not often seene; the man was valiant in action, and wise in counsel; (for the most part) the first, assisted by providence begetteth feare; the second, inforced by boldnes produceth rashnesse.[2] Which his good parts the Generall taking in notice, intrusted unto Jugurth almost all his difficult deseigns, inrold him in the rank of his friends, and every day graced him with extraordinary favors; and not without desert; for whatsoever he advised, he performed with honor. To these his good parts were also adjoyned Bounty,[3] and dexterity of conceit, Qualities that brought him in liking and familiar acquaintance with the better sort of the Romane Gentry.

At that very instant, many both ancient and new upstart Gentlemen, served in our Army, unto whom bribes were more in esteeme then upright or honorable cariage: whose

[1] *Quæ res bellicosæ genti maximæ admirationi est.*

[2] *Unde dicit Servius: Quibus sanguis calidus, ut Afris, major est prudentia, sed minor audacia in bello: Contra quibus frigidus: ut Teutonibus.*

[3] Sen. *Divitiæ apud sapientem in servitute sunt, apud stultum in imperio.*

CHAPTER I

humors being factious, and at Court in credit with their followers, more admired for their discents, then worthes; These were they, that by proposing high dignities first inflamed the mind of Jugurth, perswading him that if Micipsa were once dead, he might easily become sole-Lord of Numidia; That he worthily deserved a Crown; That in Rome al things were saleable for money.

His fortunes

5. Numantia now razed, P. Scipio determined to dismisse his Auxiliaries, and to make his return to Rome: at what time after he had graced Jugurth with due Trophies of desert,[1] and honourably commended him by word of mouth, he ledde him into his imperiall Pavillion, where he giveth him these secret Instructions: Rather in publicke then private to shewe his affections towards the Romane people: not to be bountifull to particulars: That friendship bought of a few, was more uncertaine then that which is entertained by many. That if he proceeded as he began, glory and honour would attend him above expectation: But if he made more hast then good speede, that both riches and himselfe would headlong run unto destruction. This was all the Generall spake, and so dismissed him, committing to his deliverance certaine Letters subscribed to Micipsa: the Tenor wherof was as followeth:

The valor of your kinsman Jugurth, hath deserved no small commendation in the warre of Numantia: which newes I know assuredly will be welcome unto you. His deserts deserve no lesse of us, we will do our utmost to worke the like acceptance with the people and the Lords of the Senate. I salute you for our auncient friendship. And in the word of truth, I re-send you a Gentleman worthy of your favours, and the discent of his Grandfather Massinissa.

As soone as the king understoode by Letters from the Generall, that Fame had bin no lyer, partly moved by the report of his kinsmans excellency, and partly by his good carriage, he changed his mind, and seeking to win the man by grace and favours, forthwith adopteth him his son, and

[1] *Coronis et insignibus victoribus.*

by testament maketh him co-heire with the residue of his children. Then growing old with yeares, and perceiving by sicknes and course of nature, that hee had no long time to live, he is reported to have thus discoursed with Jugurth, in the presence of his friends, kins-folke, and sonnes, Adherbal and Hiempsal. CHAPTER I

O Jugurth: It is well knowne, that after the death of thy Father, even in thine Infancy, I received thee into the Tutelage of my House, left as thou wert to the worlde, without meanes or possibilities of advancement: expecting no lesse content from thy loyalty, in requitall of those Honours which I have bestowed upon thee, then I hoped from the Loves of mine owne Children, for the benefite of their Births. Wherein I have beene nothing deceived. For, to silence many thy famous and former exploits, I confesse that thy late employment and returne from Numantia, hath perfected the honourable Testimonies of us, and our Nation: Thy valour, of fautors, hath made the Roman people most constant friends unto us, and in Spaine thou hast revived the remembrance of our deceased Progenitors:[1] *Above all (a worke most difficult) thy Vertues have overtopped Envy.*

And now, for that I perceive that my life draweth towardes an end, I admonish and adjure thee by this right hand, and the allegiance which thou owest to thy countrey,[2] *that thou estrange not thy love and service from these thy kinsmen, whom by favor and adoption I have created thy Brethren: neither covet thou, in government to admit of strangers, rather then of those who are allied unto thee in blood and parentage. Loyall friends, not the armed Souldier, nor the Richest Treasure, are the surest guards of Kingdomes: True friendship which thou canst neither allure by practise, nor buy with gold, is purchased by respect and fidelity. And who I pray thee, should be more indeered, then one Brother to another? Or what stranger shall that man find confident, who proveth a Traytour to his owne blood? Surely if you continue vertuous, I bequeath you a strong Kingdome, if yee turne evill,*

[1] *Massinissæ, qui claruit sub Hasdrubale.*
[2] *Quam ad tunc tenuit.*

CHAPTER I

a weake Patrimony. By Unity small thinges are multiplyed: by Dissention, the greatest kingdomes are ruinated.

Beleeve me Jugurth, it is thy Office (for that thou art eldest in yeares and experience) to take care that nothing happen contrary to these my latest Counsels: for in all controversies, the man that is most powerfull (though hee receive an injury) yet will it be supposed, that he hath given it, because he is best able to do it.

Againe (you my sonnes), see that you Honour and advance this your worthy Kinsman: Imitate and out-strippe him in vertue, least it be said of me, that I have adopted braver Children, then I have begotten.

Although Jugurth conceited that the King spake not this from his heart, having his mind busied upon farre higher and different cogitations; yet for the present, he gave courteous and gracious language. Within a fewe daies after Micipsa dyed.

CHAPTER II

1. The Roytelets assemble about partition of the Kingdome. 2. Hiempsal disgraceth Jugurth. 3. His revenge. 4. And preparation to warre. 5. His course after victory. 6. Adherbals Accusation. 7. Jugurths excuse. 8. Order taken to content both Parties. 9. The yssue

The Roytelets assemble about partition of the Kingdome

AFTER the three Roytelets, according to the custome of their Auncestors, had Royally interred the body of Micipsa, they appointed a time of meeting, ther to take order for their further affaires. Where Hiempsal (the youngest of three, but by Nature the proudest) now, as before time, scorning the base discent of Jugurth, by his mother, tooke place upon the right hand

of Adherbal, that Jugurth might not sit in the midst; which amongst the Numidians is accounted the most Honourable place. Neither could he by his Brothers earnest importunity, without apparant discontent, be perswaded to remove on the other hand. CHAPTER II

2. Where, amongst many particulars proposed of government, Jugurth affirmed, that whatsoever Micipsa had decreed, five yeares before his death, ought to be of no validity: for that, by reason of his aged years, during those times his sences had failed him. Wherewithall Hiempsal was well pleased: for within the space of these three yeares last past, (quoth hee) you were adopted as co-heire into the Kingdome. Which words tooke deeper impression in the heart of Jugurth, then any man present would have suspected. Hiempsal disgraceth Jugurth

3. This disgrace, from this time forwarde provoked Jugurth, (irresolute betweene wrath and feare) to study and plot in his minde how to surprize Hiempsal by Treason; Which determination working but to slow effects, and his inraged passion nothing the lesse by time asswaged, he now resolveth to dispatch it upon any occasion. His revenge

At their first meeting (shewed you before) to avoide all causes of contention, they tooke Order to divide the Treasure, and to limit out every man the bounds of his portion. A time certaine is set downe to perfect both these Decrees, but with order, to have the division of the money first dispatched.

Whereuppon the Roytelets severally remove to places neerely adjoyning to that place where the Treasures were stored. Hiempsal tooke up his lodging, by great chaunce in his house, who was Captaine of the Guard to Jugurth, a man very inward and gracious with his maister.

Him (by fortune thus making a fit Instrument for Treason) Jugurth solliciteth, by massie promises corrupteth, and without deniall importuneth to forge and deliver him the counterfeit keyes of his house, for the true keyes were nightly carried up into Hiempsals Chamber. The remainder, as occasion served, himselfe with his armed retinue would take order to dispose of.

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The Numidian speedily executeth his masters commands, and according to his instructions, at night giveth entrance unto Jugurths Souldiers: who were no sooner in possession of the house, but they disperse themselves, some to seeke the King, some to murder Hiempsals servants, and others to make good their entrance, in case any person made resistance. This done, they left no secret place unransaked; they broke up Presses, and dived into every blind corner, confounding all places with noise and uprore; and at last, lighted uppon Hiempsal, hidden in the lodging of a poore Maide-servant, whether the sudden apprehension of feare and ignorance of the place, in the beginning of the tumult, had frighted him to flye unto. The Murderers, as they had in commaund, strike off his head, and present it to Jugurth. The fame whereof in a trice flyeth over all Affrique.

And preparation to warre

4. Adherbal, and the Subjects of Micipsa, stand astonished at the report of so haynous a treacherie: The people in generall fall to partes-taking: The greater number continue constant to Adherbal, the men of Warre follow Jugurth. Whereupon, without further delay, he rayseth the strongest forces he can, hee seizeth uppon Townes, some by force, and some by faire speeches: hee uniteth them to his former portion, and casteth in his mind how to become sole-Lord of Numidia.

Adherbal, notwithstanding that he had sent his messengers to Rome, to informe the Lordes of the Senat of the death of his Brother, and his particuler misfortunes; yet seeing himselfe well accompanied with armed troopes, he doubteth not the adventure of his welfare, upon the hazard of a battell. But comming unto tryall, his army was defeated, and himselfe glad to flye into his owne province; from whence he took his way towards Rome.

His course after victory

5. Now Jugurth being Maister of his desires, and peaceable Lord of al Numidia, revolving in his mind the future scandall of this heynous murther, saw none, whom he should need to stand in feare of, but the Roman people: To mitigate whose wrath, no hopes remained, but such

as Mony and the avarice of the Nobilitie afforded. Wherfore to prevent stormes on that side, hee within a few dayes after dispatcheth his Ambassadors towards Rome, plentifully loaden with Gold and Silver: giving them instructions: First, to present his ancient acquaintance: Secondly, to drawe in New; And lastly, to bee sparing towardes no man, so hee were in place to countenance his practises. So ariving at Rome, according to the direction of their Lord, they saluted their Patrons, and the greatest of authority in the Senate with rich presents. A sudden alteration followed: the greater part of the gentrie which but even now, were most violently carryed in passion against Jugurth, forthwith became a Protector and favorer of his cause. Some in hope, and others upon receipt, privately laboured every Lorde of the Senate, to lay no heavy or unsupportable pressure upon Jugurth. CHAPTER II

This done, the Embassadors are confirmed, and a day of hearing set downe for both parties: wherein Adherbal thus layed open his cause.

Adherbals Oration

Adherbals Accusation

6. *Honourable Lords, my Father upon his death-bed gave me in charge, that I should carry my selfe, but as Lieutenant of the kingdome of Numidia. It was his last will, that the Soveraignty should remaine at your devotions.*

Moreover, he commanded me, to do you my utmost service in times of peace and warre, as also to make no other account of your fidelities, then of the loyalties of so many friendes and Kinsmen; which precepts (said he) if you observe, By the security of their friendships, you shall never bee to seeke of an Army, of Riches, and the protection of a Kingdome. These rules had I no sooner planted in my mind, with determination of obedience, but Jugurth, the most impious man, that breatheth uppon the circuite of the earth, in despight of your imperiall prerogatives, hath utterly disabled me the Nephew of Masinissa, yea friend and confederate of the

CHAPTER II

Roman people, to accomplish these duties, by him being expulsed from my kingdome and Native Country.[1]

Yet (Honourable Lords:) such is my estate, that I had rather implore your assistance to these my present miseries, in remorse of mine owne calamities, then in respect of any my Auncestors deserts: rather wishing that these favours were due unto me by the Roman people for mine owne sake (thogh I had no occasion to use them) or if I had, that my selfe might onely remaine their debter.

But for that a good conscience (for it selfes sake) is smally regarded, and fortune hath not shewed like favours to mee as she hath to Jugurth; Honourable Lords, my selfe have made choice to make my resort to your favorable protection, wherein, my onely griefe is, that miserie hath inforced mee, first, to bee burdensome, before I have bin profitable to your state.

Other Kings have bin admitted into your friendship, either after their overthrowes, or at best, have requested it, at doubtfull and desperate pinches; but our house ventured their alliance in the hottest of the Carthaginian wars, at what times their singular good willes were rather to be accepted, then their forces valued. The issues of such men (and me the Nephew of Masinissa) suffer not (Honourable Lordes) to implore ayd in vaine, but rather, if there were no other reasons of satisfaction, then my distressed fortunes (who whilome was a King, happy in discent, famous in renowne, and powerfull in substance, now base, miserable, needy, and begging assistance of another); yet let the Majesty of the Roman Empire prohibit injuries, and restraine a wicked varlet to usurpe upon another mans right, wrongfully. For (Honourable Lords) I am dispoiled of that inheritance which the Roman people allotted my Auncestors,[2] *and whereof my Father and Grand-father stoode seized joyntly with you, after the expulsion of Sciphax and the Carthaginians.*

These your Noble donatives (Honourable Lords) are injuriously taken from me, and you in my disgraces shamefully dishonoured. Wretch that I am! O father Micipsa, howe are

[1] *Suadet Senatui ut sibi suppetias ferri jubeat.*
[2] *Honestum, quia id pater et avus meriti sunt.*

thy favours requited! Shall the man whom thou broughtest in to be coheire of thy kingdome, and of meere favour advancedst to equall dignity with thy children, become the chiefe instrument to destroy thy Progeny? What! shall our house never see quiet daies? Shall wee alwaies converse with blood, warre, and banishment?

As long as the Carthaginians flourished, wee indured the greevances of all hostility without complaint: then our enemies lay upon our backes, your aide was farre remote, and therefore our hopes resided in our owne valours; wee knewe what to trust to. But after that Affrique was disburdened of that plague, every man rejoyced in the security of peace, beecause no enemy remained, but him perhaps whom you might have given in commaundement to be defied.[1]

But behold contrary to expectation, this Jugurth, bewraying his insufferable presumption, his bloody Conscience, and his ambitious spirite, in the slaughter of my brother and his owne kinsman, did make his kingdome the first purchase of his wicked disposition: His second projects were, to circumvent mee by like Treason, which when hee could not effect, nethlesse, by force and warre, hee hath now dispoiled me (mistrusting no such violence) of mine inheritance, of my birth-right, and (as you can witnesse) inforced me to undergoe the miserable casualties of want and beggerie, beeing in everie place more secure, then in mine owne kingdome.

Of your assistance (my Lords) I make this construction, that (as I have often heard my Father say) those who with integrity regard your friendship, took much paines in obtaining their sutes, but of all people living, their estate is securest. Our family[2] *never failed in the one; in all your wars their assistance hath bin at your service: now lieth it in your power to requite me with the other.*[3]

Honourable Lords, our Father left us two brethren, the third, this Jugurth, By his bountie hee supposed to have left likewise a Brother devoted to our good; but the one hee hath alreadie slaine; my selfe, the other, hath hardlie escaped his

[1] *Utile, quia socius Romani imperii permaneret.*
[2] *B. Pater et avus.*
[3] *S. ab insidiis Jugurthæ.*

CHAPTER II

blood-thirstie crueltie. In this distresse what shall I doe? Infortunate that I am! to what especiall friend shall I turne my complaints? The assistance of my kinsmen, lieth buried with their bodies, in the grave: my Father is departed this world (the decree of Nature): my brother slaughtered by the treason of this his Kinsman, a murder most unnaturall: the remainder of my affinity, consanguinity, friends, and followers, hee hath by divers practises oppressed: some hee hath put to ransome; some he hath dispatched at the Gallowes; and others he hath cast before the hungry jawes of ravenous beastes. A few (yet beholding unto him for their lives) he hath imprisoned in darke dungeons, there to spend the date of their dayes in sighes and laments; a life far more intollerable then death it selfe.

Thus honourable Lords, if I had neither lost some part of my people, neither had cause to complaine of the revolt of others: yet, if any misfortune should have against expectation befallen me, I would have implored the protection of your favours, unto whom, for the majestie of your Empire, every Subjects right or wrong ought to bee regardfull. But being (as I am) a banished man from my native soile, from mine owne House, alone, and in extreamity, whether shall I goe? Whom shall I appeale unto? Unto our Neighbour Common-Weales, or Kings? My Lords, they all hate us in regard of your alliance. In those places, on no side can I turn my visage, but I shall behold many hostile remembrances of our Auncestors service. Can they then take compassion of him, who was once their capitoll enemy? No my Lordes: Masinissa taught us to crouch to no men, but to the Roman people: yea, to defie strange leagues and alliances. Your friendships were Bulwarkes impregnable to secure us.

If Fortune should frowne upon this Empire, then I know our estate were also desperate: but by your owne prowesse, and the favours of the Gods, your Common-weale flourisheth in wealth and increase; prosperity tryumpheth in your Citties, and loyaltie in your Provinces: blessings which make easie the reliefe of your associate.

Whereof I despaire not, but onely feare, least the private insinuation of Jugurth (of whom you have yet made small

triall) pervert the judgement of some, whom (as I heare) with tooth and naile he severally laboureth to worke, to corrupt, to inveigle, not to passe any decree in his absence, without hearing his answers: objecting that my complaints are false, my flight dissimulation, and that I might have stayed with security in my kingdom, if it had so beene my pleasure. O! I would to God, I might but live to see the same man, who hath by his impious treacherie, inwrapped me in this conflict of miseries, in like case dissembling: that these humane Controversies might at some one time or other be referred, either to your decisions, or to the justice of the immortall Gods: That so, being now proud and famosed for his villanies, and as a man exposed to all calamities, he might suffer the deserved reward of his impieties committed against our Father; of murther inflicted uppon our Brother; and of Treason, the source of my miseries.

Deerest Brother, although thy death were untimelie, and thou of life bereaved by him, whom of all men living it worst beseemed, yet am I of opinion, that this thy misfortune, is rather to be joyed at then lamented. For with thy life, thou lost but thy kingdom; of flight, of banishment, of poverty and of such afflictions, which oppresse my very soule, thou art insensible.[1] *But I unhappy man, throwne headlong out of my Patrimony into an Ocean of miseries, wander the world as a spectacle of humaine change, uncertaine what course to run. Shall I revenge thy wronges? Alas! I am not of power. Shall I doe good to our Country? Ah! My life and death standeth at the devotion of others, for death I wish. It were an honourable period to my misfortunes, rather then by affecting of longer life, to make shew, that in love thereof, beeing quite spent with miseries, I lived content to brooke his insolent injuries.*

But as I am, I have neither pleasure to live, nor meanes to die without impeachment of mine honour. And therefore, (thrice-Honourable Lords) I adjure you, by your children and parents, yea, by the majesty of the Roman Empire, to put redresse to my miserable estate, to prevent these wronges, and

[1] *Sic* Virg. *O terque quatergue beati, Queis ante ora patrum, Troiæ sub montibus altis, Contigit oppetere.*

CHAPTER II

not to suffer this your kingdome of Numidia to bee ruinated by Treason, and the blood of our family.[1]

Jugurths excuse

7. After the King had made an end of his speech, the Agents of Jugurth, more confident in their gold, then the goodnesse of their cause, made this short reply.[2] *That Hiempsal was slaine by certaine Numidians for his crueltie. That Adherbal had begun the warre unprovoked:*[3] *and being overcome, fell to complaints, having no further means to prosecute his envy. That Jugurth humbly petitioned, the Lords of the Counsell would be pleased to make no other construction of his upright carriage, then of such as he showed in their service at Numantia:*[4] *neither yet to preferre the words of his enemie, before his deeds.*[5] Which ended, both parties are commanded to depart the Court.

Whereupon the Lords demaund opinions. The favourites of Jugurth, and with them, the major part of the Senate, traduced by gifts, made small account of Adherbals complaints. The deserts of Jugurth they advanced with favour, commendation, allowance, and thankes, no lesse outstriving by all meanes possible to extenuate so apparant a treason and villany committed by a Stranger; as if they had bin pleading in a righteous cause, to reap glory and commendation.

But in opposition; some fewe, to whom right and indifferencie, were more respective then rewards, gave sentence with Adherbal. That he was to be succoured, and the murder of Hyempsal to be severely punished. Amongst them of especiall note was Emilius Scaurus, a Gentleman, stout of courage, factious, and ambitious of rule, honour, and riches, but close and cunning of carriage. This man, after he had observed the infamous and abhominable bribery of Jugurth, fearing (as in like cases happeneth) that free speech against the abuses of corrupted greatnesse,

[1] Sueto. *Neque me, neque liberos meos chariores habebo quam, etc.*
[2] *Callidè tacent, jussu Jugurthæ.*
[3] *Quia natura ferox et superbus re vera erat.*
[4] *Undè laudatissimus redierat.*
[5] *Jugurthæ mores Scipioni imperatori, populoque Romano jampridem noti essent.*

might procure envie, contained his humors from their accustomed Liberty. CHAPTER II

8. Notwithstanding, in Senate the greater part prevailed: Meed and favour overswayed Equity; and an order recorded, that ten Commissioners should be sent into the province of Micipsa, to make a division thereof betweene Adherbal and Jugurth. Order taken to content both Parties

The president of this Embassie was L. Opimius, a man Honourable by birth, and great in Senate, who beeing Consull, after the deaths of C. Gracchus, and M. Flaccus, made sharp and cruell use of that victory which the Nobility gained against the Commons. Him, at Rome, his professed adversary Jugurth notwithstanding entertaineth with especiall curtesie.

9. By Largesse and promises hee likewise suborneth him, to set more by profit, then fame, faith or reputation; he attempteth the residue by like cunning: Some he worketh, a few made more Conscience of Honesty, then of Money. The yssue

In the division of the kingdome, the portion thereof, that bordereth upon Mauretania, populous, and firtill, is assigned to Jugurth: the other part (fairer in shew then profit) but beautified with havens, and adorned with costly buildings, was given to Adherbal.

CHAPTER III

1. The description of Affricke. 2. The first inhabitants

ORDER calleth upon mee briefely to discourse of the scituation of Affrique, as also to shew what Nations lived with us in warre, or amity. But as for those places and countries, which either for their extream rough mountaines, or vast deserts, lie unfrequented, I wil but point at randon: the residue I will discourse of in shortest maner. The description of Affricke

In the division of the Terrestriall Globe, some attribute

CHAPTER III

unto Affrick a third part: othersome, speaking onely of Asia and Europe, containe Affrique in Europe. Westward it boundeth upon the Mediterranean and Ocean seas: Eastward upon those steepe mountaines, which the inhabitants tearme Catabathmon. The sea is stormy, the shores without havens, the soile firtill of grain, plentifull for Catell, but unapt for trees. It hath few springs, and litle rain: The people are healthfull of body, swift of foote, and indurable of labour. Many, who come not to untimelie deaths, by the sword or wild beasts, would outlive the accustomed course of mans age, if nature failed not; for it is sildome heard that any die by sicknesse: yet is the whole land stored with infinite swarmes of venemous wormes, and beasts of prey.

But what people possessed the Country in the beginning:[1] who afterwards arrived, or how they becam mingled one with another, though diversity of opinions possesse private fancies, yet as we are letten to understand by the interpretation of those Punique bookes, which were said to be Hiempsals, we will as briefly as we may, relate as the case standeth what the Natives report for truth in this matter. Let every man give credite, as he pleaseth to fancie it.

The first inhabitants

2. The Getuli and Libians, an uncivill and barbarous people, feeding upon raw flesh, and the fruits of the Earth (as Beastes) did first inhabit this Countrey. They were neyther governed by Nature, neither by Law, nor superiority: wilde, stragling, without leader, and there resting, where night overtooke them. But after that Hercules (saith the Affricans) dyed in Spaine, his Army composed of divers Nations, having lost their Captaine, in short time disbanded, by reason of the disagreement and ambition of their Leaders. Of these companies the Medes, Persians, and Armenians, beeing transported into Affrique by shipping, seized uppon the Sea-coastes of the Mediterranean. The Persians tooke up their Seates more inward toward the Ocean, and turning the Keeles of their Boats upwards, used them, in liew of better buildings: for neyther the

[1] *Paucæ civitates norint Originem.*

soile affoorded Timber, neyther was it lawfull to buy or barter for any in Spaine. Further Traffique, the Great Sea and ignorance of forreine languages, prohibited. CHAPTER III

In processe of time, by intermariages with the Getuli, they became one Nation, and for their wandering from place to place, to proove the goodnesse of pasturage for their Cattaile, they tearmed themselves Nomades.[1] Even unto this day, those upland buildinges of the Numidians, which they tearme *Mapalia*, Cottages, are a kind of building edgelong on the top, and broad-wasted below, in a manner resembling the bottomes of overwhelmed Shipping.

Unto the Medes and Armenians, arrived the Libians, for they conversed more neerer the Affrican Sea. The Getuli lived more neere the Sunne, almost under the Tropique; and by reason of the small distance of Sea between Spaine and them, they built Townes in short time, and gave themselves to Traffique and Navigation. By assiduity the Libians corrupted their Names, and of Medi in their barbarous languages, called them Mauri.

The fortunes of the Persians in short time flourished: whereupon under the name of Numidæ, in regard of their multitudes, taking leave of their Parents, they seated themselves in the Territories next adjoyning to Carthage, and after their own names called Numidia.

After some continuance of time, the one Nation making use of the other,[2] they inforced their neighbours either for love or feare to subjection. They became famous, and augmented their glories in greater measure, then those that were nearer seated towardes our Seas. For the Lybians were not so warlike as the Getuli. So for the most part, the lower part of Affrica was wholy possessed by the Numidians, and the victor imposed his owne name upon the conquered people and country.[3]

Againe, the Phœniceans, some to diminish their home-bred multitudes, and some of the Comminalty desirous of

[1] *A Græca voce* nemeîn, *i. pascere: unde derivatur dictio, Nomades, i. vagabundi pascentes.*

[2] *Numidæ Carthaginensium, et Carthaginenses Numidarum.*

[3] *Victis victorum nomen inditur.*

CHAPTER III

advancement, and other some, in love of novelties, arrived upon the Sea-costs, and there built Hippo, Adrumetum, Leptis and many other Citties, which in short time grew admirable and famous; many whereof in future ages at some seasons, gave great assistance, and at all times continued an honour to their first and ancient Countrimen.

I holde it more wisedome to be silent on the Originall of Carthage,[1] then to write thereof sparingly, because time calleth me to make hast of another discourse.

Neere unto Cathabathmon (the frontier betweene Affricke and Egypt) in the higher sea, first appeareth Cirene, Colonia Thereon, the two Sirtes,[2] betweene them Leptis, and then Aræ philenorum: Heere endeth the Carthaginian Dominion towardes Egypt: Beyond, are some Citties of the Punique jurisdiction; the residue, the Numidians possesse as farre as Mauretania. The Moores lie nearest Spaine. Beyonde the Numidians (men say) that the Getuli live, some in homely Cottages, some, more rudely, to wander as Vagarants. Beyond them, the Ethiopians, and beyond them againe, all places to be scorched with extreamity of heat.

CHAPTER IV

1. The estate of Affrique in the beginning of these warres. 2. Jugurths cunning carriage. 3. He provoketh his Brother to fight, and routeth his Army

The estate of Affrique in the beginning of these warres

IN this warre, the Roman people did governe many of the Punique Townes, and al those Territories, which were lately conquered from the Carthaginians, by their Lieutenantes: A great part of the Getuli and the Numidians, (as far as the flood Mulucha) were Subject to Jugurth:

[1] *Cum ejus Origo et fama factorum, ingentem deposcat historiam.*
[2] *Duo arenosa loca in mari.*

King Bochus was Lorde of the Moores, by report onely known to the Romaines ; otherwaies, never heard of either in times of war, or treaties of peace. Thus have I spoken enough to purpose, as concerning the scituation of Affricke, and the people who inhabit it.

Jugurths cunning carriage

2. The division of the kingdome beeing determined, the Commissioners returned, and Jugurth contrary to his owne feares, having obtained a reward for his Treason, began to call unto mind, how he had heard his friends at Numantia report, That all things were vendible at Rome. Upon assurance whereof, concurring with the late protestations of his corrupted favourites, being incouraged, he resolved to make a proofe upon the kingdome of Adherbal. The invader was violent, and valourous : the invaded, peaceable ; No souldier ; Of a frolicke disposition ; Disgestive of injuries ; Fearefull, rather then to be feared.

Whereupon, Jugurth taketh the occasion, and upon the sodaine strongly invadeth his frontiers, maketh booty of men and Cattle, fiereth villages, and sheweth himselfe in warlike aray with his horsmen before many good towns. This Bravado performed, he retireth with his people into his owne kingdome, conjecturing, that Adherbal coulde not but take this hostile outrage to heart, and in like measure cry quittance : which if he did, then was his desires satisfied ; for this would he pretend to bee the cause of the quarrell.

But Adherbal, for that hee knew himselfe inferiour in forces, and reposed greater confidence in the friendship of the Roman people, then in his Numidians, dispatcheth Messengers to Jugurth, to complaine of these outrages. Who although they reported nothing backe again, save contumelious Language, yet sat he still, with full resolution to suffer all manner of disgraces, rather then to begin the War, because to his losse he had lately felt the smart thereof. The ambition of Jugurth never the more relented ; he had already in conceit swallowed the whol kingdome : And thereupon, not now, as before, he maketh a cursory

CHAPTER IV

and pillaging journy into the Country, but marcheth souldier-like in the middest of his armed battalions, and layeth an open claime to the Crowne of al Numidia.[1] As he goeth, he wasteth Cities, and depopulateth Villages, taketh prizes, incorageth his followers, and danteth his enemies.

He provoketh his Brother to fight, and routeth his Army

3. Adherbal perceiving no meane courses availeable, but that he must either fight, or flye, upon very necessity levieth forces, and resolveth to seeke Jugurth. They had not marched many dayes, but both Armies approacheth neare unto Cirtha, a Town scituated not far from the sea. This happened towards the Evening, no fit time to darraigne a battaile. But about mid-night, after the going downe of the Moone, upon a signall given, the souldiers of Jugurth give a Camisado upon the campe of Adherbal, some they slay halfe awakened in their beds, others running to their armes, they put to flight, and cut in peeces. Adherbal with some fewe horsemen posteth unto Cirtha, where, if a strong troope of Cittizens had not forced the pursuing Numidians to retire from the wals, without doubt one day had decided the quarrell of a kingdome. Jugurth layeth his siege round about the Towne, prepareth vines, raiseth Towers, and beginneth a breach with all sorts of Engines ; yea, and to frustrate the arrivall of the Ambassadors, who as he heard say, were sent from Adherbal towardes Rome, before the day of battell, hee hasteneth the siedge with all possible diligence.

[1] Lucan. *Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit.*

WARRE OF JUGURTH

CHAPTER V

1. Ambassadors are the second time sent into Affrica with sharper Instructions. 2. Jugurths cunning and fayning excuses. 3. After the Ambassadors departure, he againe besiedgeth his Brother

SSOONE as the Senate had understanding of their differences, they dispatched three young Gentlemen into Affrique, with Commaundement, to goe personally to both the Kings, and in the name of the Senate and Roman people, by word of mouth to say unto them; That it was their will and pleasure, that they should both lay downe their Armes.[1] In so doing, they should performe a worke woorthy theyr Friendes and themselves.[2]

Ambassadors are the second time sent into Affrica with sharper Instructions

The Ambassadors make the more hast towardes Affrique for that the newes was in Rome before their departure, that the Princes had fought, and that Cirtha was besiedged. But that rumor was sparingly verified.

2. Jugurth having understood the Tenor of their Ambassy protested, That nothing could bee of greater worth, or more deere unto him, then the authority of the Senat: that such had beene his carriage from his youth, that the love of al good men had voluntarily befallen him: that he had been gracious unto P. Scipio, that worthy Gentleman, for his vertues, not for perversenesse: And lastly, That for these qualities, and not for want of Issue, Micipsa had adopted him into the Kingdome. So that, by how much the more he had shewed himselfe a good man in

Jugurths cunning and fayning excuses

[1] *Nihil decenter in hac re geritur: copiosior exercitus, non legati, ne illi debebant ad injuriam vindicandam.*

[2] *Dignum senatu, quem pacis authorem esse decuit et dignum illis, qui inter se tam propinqui essent.*

CHAPTER V

civill behaviour, and a valiant Captaine in service, by so much the lesse could his great spirit brooke to pocket up a wrong.[1] Inferring that Adherbal had laide waight traiterously to murder him; upon discovery whereof, hee had but taken the course of prevention: which if the Roman people gainsaid, they neither used him according to his calling, nor affoorded him Justice; to forbid him to apply those remedies which the Law of Nations[2] and nature provided. Finally, he protesteth, that in good time he wold send his Agents to Rome, to give ample satisfaction to all parties: and so taketh his leave. License of reply Adherbal could not obtaine.

After the Ambassadors departure, he againe besiedgeth his Brother

3. Now, Jugurth conjecturing about what time the Ambassadors might take shipping to depart, returneth againe to Cirtha, and for that the Scituation thereof was impregnable by nature to be forced, he investeth it round with a trench and a ditch, he errecteth Towers, and manneth them: Night and day he proffereth assaults, and worketh Stratagems: Sometime he loadeth the defendantes with Mountaines of faire words, and other times he adjureth all terrible punishments: his owne people he prayeth to be resolute, and for his owne part, is negligent in nothing that might put life to the enterprize.

Adherbal now perceiving upon what desperate terms his safety consisted, that the enemy pressed harde uppon him, no hope of raising the siedge; as also, that for want of meat and munition the war could not bee prolonged; of those, that fled with him in company into Cirtha, hee maketh choise of two lusty and trusty companions, inducing them by great promises and his miserable estate, by night to faine flight into the enemies trenches, from thence to passe to the sea-side, and so to take passage for Rome. Within a fewe dayes these Numidians execute their maisters command: Adherbals Letters are delivered in the Senate, the Tenour whereof, was as followeth:

It is not my default (Honourable Lords) that I thus often

[1] *Magna ingenia ægrè ferunt injurias.* [2] *S. vim vi repelle.*

trouble your Honors with petitions, the violence of Jugurth is the motive: Him, so incompatible a thirst of my bloud possesseth, that neither your prescripts, nor the remembrance of heaven, can turne his mind unto consideration of duty.[1] *My life above all earthly things he aymeth at: Five moneths are now past, sithence I (your friend and confederate) have indured his siedge: the favours of my father Micipsa are forgotten; your Injunctions, no defence: I cannot resolve you, whether warre or hunger do most torment me. My hard fortunes doe diswade me to write more concerning this Jugurth: I have already made triall, that miserable men find small credence:*[2] *Only this I dare assure you, that he affecteth somewhat else, besides my life: you know he cannot bereave me of my kingdome, and nethlesse stand in your good grace, which he would make choise of to lose, who doubteth?*[3] *He hath already slaine my brother Hiempsal, and dispoiled me of my fathers kingdome: These are my private injuries, they concerne not you. But now he usurpeth upon the whole; the Man, who you have made Lord Governour of Numidia, he besiedgeth, and how he hath scorned the behests of your Ambassadors, my perils plead publication. What one remedy is left, but your assistance; yet such, as were of power to raise him from this siedge? Surely I could wish, that these my present lines, as also my former complaints in Senat, were causlesse, so that my misery might win you to credit. But sithence the destinies have reserved me to this houre, wherein I am made a laughing stock and matter of triumph, to the disloialty of Jugurth, I do not now thinke upon death, nor the diversion of miseries, but onely pray that I might share in his punishments, so I were sure to participate of his fortunes. As for the kingdome of Numidia (which I confesse is yours) provide for it, as you thinke best; let me intreat you thus much, for the majesty of your Empire, and our plighted faiths in friendship, onely to deliver my body from the tyranny of this impious conspirator: And this, as you tender the remembrance of my Grand-father Massinissa.*

[1] *Cujus ultio lenta, sed tanto gravior.* [2] *Parum creditur miseris.*
[3] *Q.d. gravius ferret remittere regnum meum, quam amicitiam vestram.*

THE HISTORY OF THE

CHAPTER VI

1. Ambassadors of greater quality are againe sent into Affrique. 2. Remisly they leave things as they find them. 3. Cirtha is forced. 4. Adherbal slayne

Ambassadors of greater quality are againe sent into Affrique

PON the reading of these Letters, some of the Lords were very hot, to have an Army forthwith levied for Affrique: affirming, that they were in honour ingaged to send present succors to Adherbal, and at leysure to consult upon Jugurths contempt, for disobeying the order of the Ambassadors: But on the contrary, his favourites with much ado bestird them, to dash this decree. Thus (as in like cases) private favour perverted publicke honesty.

Notwithstanding, least they should seeme to doe nothing, they haste in Ambassage graver personages, men of great place and quality, againe into Affricke, amongest whom was M. Scaurus, of Consulare dignity, and powerfull in Senate; of whom we told you before. These men, for that Jugurth had incurred the generall hatred,[1] and the Numidians also with no lesse importunity did solicite a speedy departure, in three daies space were got a shippebord, and with a faire passage arrived at Utica: whence, in hast they posted away their Letters to Jugurth, with intimation, that he should (all excuses and delayes set apart) upon sight thereof, retire into his owne province: not forgetting likewise to acquaint him, how they were especially sent unto him from the Lords of the Senate.

2. Jugurth hearing that such eminent persons, and of such authority in Rome, were imployed, to crosse his dis-

[1] *Quia legatis non paruisset.*

seignes; at first, somewhat perplexed betweene feare and perseverance, stood diversly distracted what to determin. He feared the displeasure of the Senate for his contempt towards the former Ambassadors: but lastly, the blinde humour of Ambition overmastred his sences: And so an ungracious Counsel, forced out of a rash resolve, prevailed to the worst. CHAPTER VI Remisly they leave things as they find them

Whereupon, giving a generall assault to the Towne, he laboured his utmost, to become maister thereof: confidently hoping, that by drawing his enemies forces to divers defences, either the sworde, or policy, would cast upon him the Trophy of victory. Which not succeeding; neither his projects of circumventing Adherbal, (before he should come to Negotiation with the Ambassadors) sorting to effect, fearing by longer stay further to exasperate Scaurus his anger, whom hee much feared; in the company of some few horsemen hee retired into his owne Province: where being given to understand in the name of the Senate, in what heynous measure they took his contumacy, in not desisting from the siege of Cirtha, and what greevous punnishment they threatned, after much debating on both sides, the Ambassadors retired towards Rome without accomplishing any agreement to purpose.[1]

3. After newes heereof was brought unto Cirtha, the Italians,[2] uppon whose Vertue the safety of the Towne consisted, perswaded themselves, that if they motioned a composition and yeelded the place, they (in regarde of the Roman name) should bee sure to finde good dealing, move Adherbal to give his consent to yeelde himselfe and the Towne to Jugurth, with conditions of security for his life; All other the Controversies to be referred unto the good pleasure of the Senate. Cirtha is forced

Adherbal though hee had rather have undergone any extreamity then trusted Jugurths oath, yet because it lay in their powers to constraine him, how obstinat soever,

[1] *Quia falsas incepti rationes, et causas frivolas adduceret Jugurtha.*
[2] *Cirthæ pro presidio impositi, post divisionem regni.*

CHAPTER VI

yeilded to accept of whatsoever Articles the Italians did thinke meetest.

Adherbal slayne

4. The first sacrifice that Jugurth offereth, after some cruell tortures, is his brothers blood : the second, a promiscuous slaughter of the young Numidians and Marchants, as any one hapned to meete with his armed enemie.[1]

CHAPTER VII

1. The Humour of the Lords, the opposition of Memmius, the subtility of Jugurth. 2. The Romans first preparation to warre. 3. Frustrated by Jugurth

The Humour of the Lords, the opposition of Memmius, the subtility of Jugurth

AFTER intelligence heerof was certified at Rome, and the matter began to be expostulated in Senate, the olde favourites of the King, sometime by interuption, and sometime by faire speeches, intermingled with foule, found occasions by protraction of time to adde hopes of mittigation of the offence. And if C. Memmius, Tribune elect[2] of the people, a man of an undaunted spirit, and much offended at the insolencies of the Gentry, had not preferred an information to the people against Jugurth, howe matters were carried, (viz.) that by a few factious Cittizens the offender was likely to bee pardoned ; without doubt all displeasure had bin forgotten by procrastination of consultations : Of so great moment were favour and Mony.

The Romans first preparation to warre

2. But the popular feare awakeneth the Drousie spirits of the Lordes of the Senate, to recall to their memories the inexcusable management of this foule fact. By the

[1] *Inermibus, verisimile est, pepercit, an tamen Italicis, non constat.*
[2] *In proximum annum.*

Lawe Sempronia, Numidia and Italy are the appointed provinces for the future Consuls: P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Calphurnius Bestia are nominated. The lot of Numidia fell upon Calphurnius; of Italy, upon Scipio. Wages and al other ammunitions necessary for warre are proportioned for the Army of Affricke: Jugurth, contrary to immagination (being beyond doubt perswaded that all thinges would to contentment be managed at Rome for money) by message hearing heereof, sendeth his own sonne with two of his trustiest Counsellors in Ambassage to the Senate. To these he giveth in strict charge (as he had done at the death of Hiempsal) to worke uppon all creatures with money.

After their arrivall at Rome, the Senate was demanded by Bestia, if it were their pleasures that Jugurths Mes sengers should bee suffered to enter within their walls. For answere, they replyed, that, unlesse he would personallie appeare before the Counsell Table, and there simply surrender himselfe and his kingdome, his Legats within ten daies next immediately following, should get them packing out of the confines of Italy; at perill. The Consull acquainteth the Numidians with the decree of the Counsell: accordingly they departed without satisfaction to any thing they demanded.

Meane time Calphurnius mustreth his army, entertaineth gentlemen, and amongst them some factious spirits, whose greatnesse he made account should be his protection, against errors and calumnies: of these Scaurus made one, of whose carriage and behaviour wee have alreadie related.

The Consull by nature was qualified with many good parts, both of minde and body, if Avarice onely had not blemished their purities: Indurable of labour, quicke of apprehension, reasonably circumspect, an indifferent soldiour, and valourous in daungers and suddaine enterprizes.

By this time the legions were arrived at Rhegium,[1] from thence they set saile for Sicill, and so to Affrique.

[1] *Oppidum Calabriæ.*

CHAPTER VII

Frustrated by Jugurth

3. In the beginning of his first arrivall, being wel provided of necessaries, he made sharpe warre uppon Numidia, tooke Prisoners, and some Citties by strong hande. But after he had once talked with the bribing Messengers of Jugurth, who made the sharpenesse of the present war the colour of their Ambassage, the mind of Calphurnius, distempered with the Lethargy of Avarice, relented. Scaurus was taken to be the Prime-moter and Minister of al his Counsels: who although in the beginning he had opposed with no small integritie against Jugurths faction, notwithstanding at last, the massie minerall of Gold, from Good and Virtuous, gave him the imputation of wicked and Impious.

The next Stratagem that Jugurth bribed for, was only a surcease from Arms: Upon hopes that time by rewards or favour would produce some milder fortune.

But lastly, when he heard that Scaurus was put in joynt-Commissioner to take order in the businesse, his former hopes were redoubled, to recover an assured peace, and thereupon he grew resolute personally, to fall to composition concerning all Controversies.

Hereupon (for good-meanings-sake) Sextus the Treasurer is sent as a pleadge to Vaga, Jugurths Towne, but under pretence of receiving the corne which Calphurnius had commaunded the Messengers in open audience to provide, for that the treaty of truce was to be prolonged, according to Jugurths delay in capitulating.[1]

Whereupon the King (according to promise) maketh his appearance in the Campe, where speaking some few wordes before the Councell, in extenuation of the harsh construction which men made of his offence, he desireth to be received to mercy: what hee had more to say, hee communicateth with Bestia and Scaurus in secret.

And so the day following, a generall opinion beeing demaunded,[2] according to the Law Satyra, hee yeeldeth, and is received, with condition set downe by the Counsell,

[1] *Ut vultisne, jubetisne cum Jugurtha bellum componatur.*
[2] *Ne quid sinistri vulgus suspicaretur.*

that he should pay thirty Elephants, a proportion of Cattell, like number of Horses, and no small quantity of Silver, which were accordingly delivered unto the Treasurer. This done, Calphurnius journeyth towards Rome, to procure allowance of the decreed truce from the Senate, leaving good directions, both in Numidia, and our army, for observation of the peace.

CHAPTER VIII

1. The Commons repine at the peace concluded with Jugurth. 2. Incited by C. Memmius

BUT after that fame had made report of the occurrances of this warre, and how it was managed, at Rome in every place, and in all companies, every mans head was busied with the behaviour of the Consull. The commons, as a woman with Childe, laboured with envy; The Lords could not resolve whether they should ratifie or disanull so dishonourable a composition concluded by a Consull. The greatnesse of Scaurus, who was reported to be the Author and chiefe Counsellour of this businesse, to Bestia, perverted all right and Justice.

The Commons repine at the peace concluded with Jugurth

2. But C. Memmius, of whose free forme of speech, and distast of the Gentry, we have already spoken, observing the timorousnesse and procrastination of the Senate, in his Orations ceased not to incourage the people to revenge the disgrace: hee advised them not to set light by their Priviledges of Liberty: hee aggravated the cruell, proud, and manifold insolencies of the Nobility: finally, his whole Orations tended to no other scope, but to irritate the corages of the vulgar. And because in those times, his eloquence was famous and much spoken of in Rome,

Incited by C. Memmius

CHAPTER VIII

amongest many, I thinke it not amisse, to acquaint you with the Transcript of one, and especially with that which he made after the returne of Bestia. Thus it was.

C. Memmius his Oration

Fellow Cittizens, many are the perturbations of my mind, which do accounsell me to forsake you, if my zeale to the common cause prevailed not above all other passions: that is to say, the powerfull greatnesse of the faction, your slavish patience, and the suppression of Justice: but the griefe, that most curbeth me, is to see that Innocency is sooner rewarded with perrill, than graced by desart.

Howe these fifteene yeares last past, you have lived as a scorne to the Pride of a few, how basely without revenge and in dangers you have forsaken your Protectors,[1] *it greeveth me to record. But how commeth it to passe, that as yet your minds are corrupted with the same sloth and cowardice, that beeing now interessed in like defence of Justice against your adversaries, you rouze not up your courages, and become awful unto those (as is meet) who with might and main strive to dominere over you? Well, let the reasons bee what they will, notwithstanding, my minde strongly perswadeth me to enterprize some course of indifferency, against this the pride of the Gentry. Surely I will not be afraid to make publicke profession of that liberty, which by discent accrued unto mee from my cradle. But whether I shall lose my labour, or speake to purpose, the issue lieth in your election, worshipfull Citizens.*

Yet is it not my meaning, that by violence,[2] *as your predecessors did, you should seeke redresse of injuries: For at this time, there is neither need of Armes, nor disunion; no, let Faction run headlong after the accustomed manner, to its own destruction.*

After the death of Tiberius Gracchus [3] *(who as men report aymed at the Monarchy) many cruell informations were*

[1] *T. Gracchus, C. Gracchus, M. Fulvius.*
[2] *Discessionem in montem acrum, aut Aventinum.*
[3] *Probat exemplis.*

preferred against the Commons. After the slaughter of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, divers of your ranke [1] *were executed in prison: To both pressures, not law,* [2] *but licentious satiety put ending.*

But be it, that to restore the people to their auncient priviledges, were for the good of the Common-wealth; or, that the redresse of those enormities which cannot be reformed without the effusion of blood, were justifiable: yet have you precedents of former ages, that your auncestors (as it were with silence) disdained to see the Exchequer pillaged, or Kinges or forren Nations to bestow pensions upon private gentlemen. By meanes whereof, although superiority and infinite wealth accompanied their greatnesse, yet made they small account to escape unpunished for their misdemeanors.

In these daies, equity, your prerogatives, and all divine and humane royalties are yeelded up to such your enemies, who are neither weary nor ashamed to commit the like, if not worse, insolencies: In the open streets their carriage is Prince-like, and some there are, who do nothing but boast of their Sacerdoties, their Consulships, and triumphes as if they had obtained them by reprisall, and not deserved them in honor.

Slaves bought with money, can hardly brook the imperious commands of proud maysters, and can you (Roman citizens) borne in freedome, tollerate so vile a servitude with patience? And I pray you, what kind of men are these, which sway thus in the State? surely, the worst of all other: Bloudy in action, unsatiable in avarice, the greatest offenders, and the proudest companions? with whom faith, piety, honesty and dishonesty are mercenary. Some whereof had laide violent hands uppon your Tribunes, some preferred forged indictments, and others accounted it a strong piece of policy, to have trussed you up at the Gallowes. The worser the pressure committed against you, the securer the party: [3] *Beleeve it, your remissenesse hath quitted all their feares of daring to do evil: so that now: their desires, their hatreds, and feares are one and alike.*

[1] *Tres fuere ordines Romanorum, s. Senatorius, equester, plebeius.*
[2] *s. Portia quæ vetat in Civem animadvertere pœna sanguinis.*
[3] *Quia maximè timeretur.*

CHAPTER VIII

Indeede, amongst good men, those are the seales of truest frendshippe ;[1] *amongst evill men the stratagems of faction.*

But if like care of Liberty had possessed your courages, as Ambition of superiority hath inflamed their spirits, assuredly, the Common-wealth should not as now lie disgraced, nor your presentments to advancement bin imployed uppon men most audacious, but most upon the meritorious.

Your Auncestors falling to disunion,[2] *by armes in the quarrell of Lawes and Reformation of Officers, twice seized uppon Aventine,*[3] *and will not you once do your utmost to redeeme your hereditary Liberty? Yea and with so much the greater courage, by how much it is the greater disgrace, rather to loose that which by vertue hath to your handes bin gained formerly, then to have sate still, and done nothing at all.*

Some man will say, Sir, what is then your opinion? That you call for redresse against those that have wronged the state, not uncivilly, nor by strong hand ; for this were more dishonourable to you the Actors, then to them the sufferers ; but to proceed by information and the confession of Jugurth himselfe : who, if he bee your Prisoner indeede, it were but reason, that he should obey your behests.

Which if he contemne, the matter is aunswered, you may soone guesse, what manner of peace and surrendry this is, by which Jugurth is now at Libertie, unpunished ; the great men plentifully inriched, and the common wealth a looser and dishonoured.

This is my opinion, unles peradventure, you are not yet wearie of their predominancie, and those times doe better please you then the present, wherein Kingdomes, Provinces, Lawes, decrees, Judgements, warres, treaties, and finally, all Offices, in Church and Common-wealth are at the dispose of a few.

And so it seemeth to me : that you whose forces no envy is able to confront, as being sole Commanders of infinite Nations, are notwithstanding content to have well escaped with the

[1] *Hæc optima amicitia inter bonos.*
[2] *q.d. vobis imitandi.*
[3] *Unum ex septem collibus Romæ.*

safeties of your bare lives. For which of you dare make refusall of his imposed servitude? [1]

For mine owne part, although I am fully perswaded, that that most wicked man escaped, against all conscience unpunished for his villanies, yet with a right good will could I give my consent, that you shoulde pardon his most faulty inconnivencers (because they are Citizens) [2] *but that this precedent of foolish pitty might happen to a future mischiefe. For with them it will be soone forgotten (such is their unconscionable impudency) that they escaped punnishment for their misdemeanors, unlesse future occasions of committing the like, bee henceforth quite bereaved them.*

As for your selves, you shall remaine in perpetuall suspence, eyther to become slaves, or to maintaine your liberty by force of Armes. For I pray you, what hope of good meaning or concord can you assure unto your selves, when they wil be great, you free: They will commit wrongs, you will seeke to redresse them: they will use your associats as enemies, your enemies as associats. Can there be any security or true friendship in such diversity of humors? Upon premeditation of all which contrarieties, I cannot but admonish and intreat you, not to let passe so presumptuous a scandall unexamined.

The pillaging of the publike treasure is not now questioned, nor monies by extortion drawne from our confederates complained of. These enormities (though vile and odious) use maketh them familiar. But in our case, the majesty of the Senat is betraied to a most cruell enemy, your Priviledges broken, and the common cause set to sale here at home, and in forren Countries: Which abuses unlesse they bee examined, and exemplary severity inflicted upon the offenders; what remains, but that hereafter we content our selves to live in allegiance to those, who have committed the fault? For to dare uppon confidence of impunity, is no lesse than to usurpe upon the title of a Kingdome.[3]

Worshipfull Citizens, mistake me not; I woulde not have

[1] *s. extens. per paucos potentes, s. Jugurtha.*
[2] *s. Calphurnio, Scauro et similibus.*
[3] *Nomen invisum Romanis.*

CHAPTER VIII

you to tollerate evill rather then good, in your fellow Citizens, but my advice is, that you prevent it in the good, by not pardoning it in the bad. For the good of the state, it were better in this point, to be unmindful of a benefite, then to tollerate a mischiefe. A good man is only made more secure by connivence, an evill man more lewd. If wrongs were not, counsell were needlesse.

CHAPTER IX

1. Cassius is sent to Jugurth. 2. The misdemeanour of the Officers of the Army in Affrique. 3. Memmius objecteth against Jugurth. 4. Countenanced by Bebius

Cassius is sent to Jugurth

BY reiteration of these and such like speeches, Memmius perswadeth the people to send L. Cassius the Prætor to Jugurth, with Commission, uppon reciprocall pleighting of publicke fayth, to bring him unto Rome; to the intent that by his evidence, the offences of Scaurus, and the residue, accused of subornation, might be publiquely examined.

The misdemeanour of the Officers of the Army in Affrique

2. Matters being thus managed at Rome, the Colonels and Captaines of the Army left behinde by Bestia, imitating the examples of their Generall, perpetrated many heynous and dishonourable enormities: Some, for mony resold the Elephants to Jugurth: Some made Merchandize of Fugitives, and others went a boot-haling into the confederate countries: a generall contagion of Avarice (like a pestilentiall Fever) had impoisoned their spirits in generall.

The Decree ratified,[1] and the whole Nobility daunted, at the motion of Memmius, Cassius is commanded to repaire

[1] *s. A plebiscito.*

unto Jugurth: findeth him fearefull, and his conscience accusing his cause, for that he had yeilded himselfe unto the Roman people: which Cassius perceiving, notwithstanding perswadeth and incourageth him to make triall of clemency, rather then of obstinacy. Moreover, he interposeth his private faith, which Jugurth accepted with as great confidence as if it had beene the Publique: In those times, such was the repute of Cassius. CHAPTER IX

Jugurth (contrary to the customes of Kings) attired in most base apparell, accompanied Cassius to Rome: where being arrived, although his minde was nothing dejected in regard of comfort received from those his patrons (by whose greatnesse and connivence he had already waded through the scandals before spoken of)[1] yet, by bribery he prepareth to preoccupy C. Bebius the other Tribune of the people; by whose opposition (gained) he made ful acount against just objections, or injurious accusations, to bee strongly guarded.

3. C. Memmius summoneth the assembly (a party most malicious against Jugurth): Some give advice to commit him to prison; Others, to punish him as a professed enemy *more majorum*, unlesse he would disclose his accouncellers and countenancers in the Action. But Memmius more respecting the publicke honour, then private furie,[2] by milde perswasions lenifieth their fiercenesse, asswageth their swolne courages, and lastly protesteth, that for his part, hee will preserve the publicke faith ingaged, in highest purity. After silence proclaimed: and Jugurth at the barre: he thus began to expostulate. He made a recitall of his offences practised at Rome, and committed in Numidia; hee published his impieties against his Father and brethrene: by whose counsell, and by the corruption of what Ministers, he was incouraged to execution. Memmius objecteth against Jugurth

Of the particulars whereof, although the Roman people were fully instructed, yet their desire was, to have them

[1] *Quorum auxilio fretus, ea scelera perpetrare ausus est.*

[2] *Quia contra jus gentium esset, fide publica interposita supplicium sumi de eo qui sponte sua venerat.*

CHAPTER IX

given in evidence out of his own mouth. If he spake truth, upon the faith and clemency of the Roman people, the greater would be his hopes: but if he consealed them, it would prove dangerous to his favourites, and desperat to himselfe, and his future fortunes. 4. As soone as Memmius had ended his speech, and Jugurth commanded to reply, C. Bebius the other Tribune, whom (as we told you before) Jugurth had corrupted, injoyned him to silence, whereat the present Commons being vehemently moved began to be clamorous, to bend the browe, to threaten force, and to make use of al those insolencies, which a popular passion for the instant accounselleth.

Countenanced by Bebius

Notwithstanding, impudency prevailed: and the people standing there but for Ciphers, at last departed: Jugurth, Bestia, and the residue (whom the information concerned and terrified) began now to take courage.

CHAPTER X

1. Massiva incited by Albinus, studieth to become King of Numidia. 2. Jugurth procureth his death. And returneth into Affrique

Massiva incited by Albinus, studieth to become King of Numidia

AT the same season a certaine Numidian, called Massiva, the sonne of Gulussa, the Nephew of Massinissa, upon the dissention of the Kinges, taking party against Jugurth, after the yeelding uppe of Cirtha and the murder of Adherbal, retired to Rome. This man, Sp. Albinus (who the yeare ensuing after Bestia was Consul with Q. Minutius Ruffus) for that he was of the blood of Masinissa, accounselled to become humble suter unto the Lords of the Senate, for the kingdome of Numidia; and the rather, for that a general envy did prosecute

Jugurth for his manifold impieties. The old covetous Consull, was farre more desirous to bee in action, and to manage armes, rather then to end his daies in peace and quiet. Numidia by lot fell to Albinus; Macedonia to Minutius. CHAPTER X

2. Massiva no sooner made open profession of his determination, but Jugurth in his mind revolving the instability and weake assistance of his Patrons (of whom, one was attached in conscience, another mindfull of his good name, and all afraide of the people) commandeth Bomilchar, his inward and trustiest friend, for money (his ordinary refuge) to procure some Ruffians to murder the Numidian. But how? in most secret and insuspicious manner:[1] if it could not be cleanly so effected, then to dispatch it any wayes; no matter howe;[2] Bomilchar swift to shedde blood, obeyeth, and procureth fellowes, Crafts-maisters in such like service, to watch, first, his gooing abroad, and comming home; secondly, the places of his resort, and lastly his times of abode. Upon the next oportunity, he conducteth these his Mercinarie murderers to lie in waight. One of the crew, thus resolved for blood, more rash then advised,[3] incountreth Massiva, and runneth him through. The varlet is apprehended, and at the instances of many, but especially of Albinus the Consull, is dealt with to appeach his Abettors. Jugurth procureth his death And returneth into Affrique

Upon confession, it is thought best that Bomilchar bee rather brought to his triall uppon equity, then dismissed without punishment by the law of Nations, because he acompanied Jugurth to Rome, under the protection of the publicke faith.[4] As for Jugurth himselfe (of all men best acquainted with the drift of this murder) he never giveth over to deny and contest the fact, before he clearely perceived, that envy overswayed grace and Gold.

Whereupon being put to his plunge, although in the

[1] *Ne si res palam fiat, contra fidem publicam fecisse judicetur.*
[2] *Sive clam, sive palam.*
[3] *Quia non prospexerat sibi de fuga.*
[4] *Quia Jugurtha venit Romam fide publica interposita, sic quod jure gentium liceret ei impune cum suis redire.*

CHAPTER X

former information he had delivered fifty of his friendes for pledges,[1] yet being more in love with a kingdome, then carefull for the redemption of his sureties, he conveyeth Bomilcar secretly into Numidia, mistrusting that the feare of his appearance should disquiet the residue of his associates, if punishment were executed uppon him. Within a few daies after hee himselfe followed, beeing commanded by the Senate to depart out of Italy. As he went out of Rome, it is reported, that without word speaking he often looked behinde him: and at last brake out into these speeches, Farewell faire Citty, exposed to sale and suddaine ruine, if thou couldst find an able Chapman.

CHAPTER XI

1. Albinus hasteneth into Affrick. 2. Deluded by Jugurth. 3. Aulus is left Lieutenant of the Army. 4. Routed by Jugurth

Albinus hasteneth into Affrick

THE warre is renewed, and Albinus taking order for victuales, wages, and all other ammunitions necessary for all Souldiers, hasteneth their transportation into Affrique. Himselfe followeth with speede, in hope eyther by Armes or composition to finish this Warre, before the time of Elections, which now grew on apace.

Deluded by Jugurth

2. Jugurth on the contrary, drew all thinges out at length, somtime pretending one excuse of delay, and sometimes another. Hee protesteth composition, and againe falleth off, by interlacing of feares and doubtes. Now hee retireth, and presently (not to discourage his fellowes) he

[1] *Vas, dictus est, qui in judicio spondet pro alio.*

maketh a stand, and dareth his enemy: and so sometime by seeming to accept the battell, and sometimes by motioning treaties of accord, at all times hee deludeth the expectations of the Consull. CHAPTER XI

Some were of opinion, that Albinus was no Stranger to these driftes of Jugurth, for considering his hast, they could not be brought to beleeve, but the Warre was prolonged more by the default of the Consull, then by the cunning of Jugurth. Well, the season was spent to no purpose, and the day of Elections at hand. Whereupon Albinus retired to Rome, leaving his Brother Aulus Lieutenant in his stead. At Rome the Tribunitiall contentions did infinitely disquiet the state of the Common-wealth. P. Lucullus and L. Annius, Tribunes of the people, obstinately stood against their Collegues, for further continuance of their offices. This difference proroged the elections for a whole yeare.

Aulus is left Lieutenant of the Army

3. This Interim set Aulus (who as before wee tolde you, was left Lieutenant in Affrique) on a fire, eyther to finish the Warre, or by the terrour of his Army, to extort some Masses of Money from Jugurth. And therefore in January he bringeth his Souldiers out of their winter Garisons into the field, and by great journies in a very sharp season, he presenteth his forces before Suthul, the place where Jugurth had bestowed his Treasure. Which, although in regard of the season, and the strong scituation of the place, it should neither bee forced nor beseeged, (for a slimy plaine, now become by the Winter Waters, a meere marish, incircled the Wall built upon the utmost clife of a ragged Rocke) yet for countenance-sake, eyther to astonish the King or bewitched with blind hopes of gaining the town, without delay he omitted nothing to further his intention. Jugurth taking hold of the vanity and insufficiency of the man, cunningly to drawe him to further pointes of madnesse, sendeth out certaine Messengers to offer his submission, and withall at the same instant, faining feare and flight, leadeth his Army into woody and unfrequented places. This offer of a conceited composition, so bewitched

CHAPTER XI

Aulus, that needes will hee leave Suthul, and pursue his false-flying enemy into unknowne Countries: uppon what reason, I cannot conjecture, unlesse in such a place his oversights might prove lesse subject to disclosure.[1] All the way of his march, Jugurth ceased not day nor night, by certaine crafty espyals to sound the souldiers: and to corrupt the Captaines and Centurions of bands, eyther to revolt, or in the day of the fight, upon a signall given, to forsake their stations.

Routed by Jugurth

4. Which, when hee had brought to passe according to desire, about midnight he incompasseth the campe of Aulus with his troopes of Numidians. The souldiers were amazed at this so inexpected an alarum:[2] some betooke them to their weapons, some to hide their heades: Some incouraged the fearefull, others stood quivering, as men at their wits ends, for that the enemy pressed hard uppon all places. The sky was overcast with cloudes and darkenesse, and the danger alike doubtful: finally, the hardiest could not resolve, whether the safest course consisted in flight, or fight.[3] Of those which were before corrupted, one Cohort of Ligurians, with two companies of Thracians, and a fewe common souldiers revolted to the King. In like manner the Centurion primiple of the third Legion, gave entrance to the enemy, by that quarter which was assigned him to defend: upon that side all the Numidians thrust in. The flight on our part was shamefull;[4] some retired to the next hil without any weapons. Night and the rifling of our Tents, gave us some advantage to the prejudice of their victory: but the next day Jugurth calleth unto Albinus, Although (saith hee) I now besiege thee, distressed by warre and famine, with mine Army, yet being mindfull of humane casualties, I will capitulate with these, that (your lives saved) you shall all passe *sub jugum*,[5]

[1] *Quia exercitus nesciret quid ageretur.*
[2] *Quia nox erat, et silvæ vicinæ.*
[3] *Utrinque periculosum erat nescientibus regionem.*
[4] *Quia interea multi saluti consuluere.*
[5] *i. sub hastam transversam inter duas hastas erectas, patibulum representans.*

and within ten daies after, cleerly depart Numidia. These conditions, although they were hard and dishonorable,[1] yet because deniall was death, the composition was accepted and ratified, according to the Kings pleasure. CHAPTER XI

CHAPTER XII

1. The Romans re-enforce their Armie. 2. The Tribune preferreth a bill against bribery

ASSOONE as the newes arrived at Rome, feare and sadnesse possessed the Citty. Some were pensive for the honour of the Empire; Others not accustomed to heare of the variable events of warre, mistrusted no lesse then the losse of their liberty.[2] All were offended at Aulus, and specially those, that hadde beene brought up in service, for that he preferred a dishonourable composition, before a valourous adventure of his life. Which the Consull Albinus well observing, and fearing that his brothers misadventure would prove his disgrace and procure him envy, propounded the question in Senate, concerning the validity of the Treaty, mean while not foreslowing to levy new supplies, and to pray in ayd the Italians and their associates. In this they used all possible celerity. The Romans re-enforce their Armie

The Lords (it was but reason) decreed, that no treaty could be ratified without the approbation of the Senate and the people.

The Consul being forbidden by the Tribunes to transport these supplies, within a few daies after ariveth in Afrique: For the relicks of the Army, according to the articles,

[1] *Quia pœna capituli digna, ut ipsis cecidit, quia Samnitibus sub jugum missi fuere.*

[2] *Quia Adherbal præmonuerat, quod Jugurtha altius animum intenderet.*

CHAPTER XII

being retired out of Numidia, did nowe winter in the Province.

Upon his first arrivall, although his mind were good, both to prosecute Jugurth, as also to redeeme his brothers disgrace by revenge, yet upon notice that the souldiers, besides their revolt, were corrupted by loose government,[1] and licenciousnesse, arising from superfluity, he changed his mind, and resolved to do no more for that yeare.

The Tribune preferreth a bill against bribery

2. Mean time at Rome, C. Mamilius Limetanus, Tribune of the people, preferred a bil for inquisition against those, by whose countenance Jugurth presumed to contemne the Decrees of the Senate: who they were that redelivered the Elephants and fugitives: and likewise who they were, that either in their Ambassages, Messages, or Generalships had beene corrupted by bribery: or lastly had without warrant capitulated with the enemy, of peace or warre. To this bill, some for that in their consciences they knew themselves guilty, and others in regarde of the generall envy, misdoubting danger, for that with safety they could not make open resistance, made answere, that both this bill, and all others of like nature pleased them. But under hand by their friendes, especially the Latines and the Italians, they procured meanes of evasion. But with what obstinacy the Commons persevered, and in what riotous manner they commanded the Inquisition, more in hate of the Gentry (against whome these malicious severities were pretended) then in true zeale to the common cause it is a thing incredible to relate.[2] Such, and so violent was the perversnesse of both parties. Whereupon every man being daunted, Marcus Scaurus the fore-recited procurator of Bestia, betweene the insultinges of the people, and the frights of the Gentry (the City also quaking for fear) amongst the three informers, petitioned by the bill of Mamilius, procured himselfe to bee the third in Commission.

[1] *s. fratris. Deteriores sumus omnes licentia.*

[2] *Quod aut alia negotia interrogabant: aut ad plebem et tribunos plebis instabant, ne in tanta Commotione, talis rogatio promulgaretur.*

Howsoever, the Inquisition was so bitterly and violently urged by the clamors and licentiousnesse of the people at this assembly, that looke what insolency the Nobility in former times in their potencies, exercised upon the people; the people at this time were nothing behind in requitall of the like outrage towards the Gentry.

CHAPTER XIII

A digression of the Author upon the cause of the corruption and declination of the Roman Empire

A digression of the Author upon the cause of the corruption and declination of the Roman Empire

THIS bandying of parties by the people, and the partiality of the Gentry, with the accustomary assiduity of corrupt passages, tooke their first originall in Rome not many yeares sithence, from the disuse of warre, and enjoyment of those vanities (wealth and idlenesse) which all mortall men do most seeke after. For before the razing of Carthage, the Senate and Roman people ruled the state with indifferencie, in quiet and mutuall modesty: contentions of Superiority and greatnesse were not heard of amongest fellow-Cittizens: forrayne feares retained the citty within bounds of mediocrity.[1]

As feare vanished, so those vanities (which accompany prosperity) wantonnesse and pride approched: Insomuch that in adverse times, the fruition of peace and idlenesse was most bitter and burdensom to them. For the Nobility converted the institution of their superiority into arrogancy, and the Cominalty, their priviledges into libertie. Each party made shift for themselves, to usurpe, to ravine, to

[1] *Servabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas Quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebat Tecta labor, somnique breves.*

CHAPTER XIII

bandy. There were but two factions; the Commonwealth, which consisted in *medio*, was wronged on both sides: whereof the Nobility interessed by faction, prevailed most, the strength of the Commons disjointed and dispersed in multitudes, could do little.

The people were kept low by poverty and imploiments in service: The spoiles of warre the Generals shared unto themselves and their favourites, whilst in the meane time the parents and infants of the souldiers, were disseized of their inheritances, as they hapned to lie adjoyning neere the confines of some great personage. Thus avarice incorporated with Greatnes, laide claime, and made prize of all things without meane in al places, until it ran headlong into desperate ruine. For after some of the Nobility were found to affect true glory before usurped power, the Citty began to be disquieted, and civill dissention as dust carried with a whirlewind, invaded mens fancies. Tiberius and C. Gracchus (whose Ancestors had done many good services to the state, both in the Punique, and other wars) were the first, that endevoured to restore the people to liberty, and to cal the offences of some few into question. The Nobility being guilty, and therefore fearful, sometimes found meanes to frustrate the devises of the Tribunes by their associats and the Latines, and sometimes by the Roman Knightes, whom the hope of equality had exempted from siding with the vulgar. First they slue Tiberius, and within few yeares after C. Gracchus, with M. Fulvius Flaccus: the one colourably, for mooving sedition; the other, for producing the Law of sending forth Colonies. To speak uprightly, the Gracchi were too violent in their desires of prevailing: for it is a wiser course, to yeeld in a good cause, rather then to wreck our injuries in an evill measure. Upon this victory, the Nobility according to their pleasures and particulars, either massacred or banished many mortall creatures, for future age procuring unto themselves more fear then power.[1] A project which hath ruinated many great cities, wherin the one hath

[1] *Quia ex popularibus nullus eis faveret.*

studied by all means [1] to over-master the other, and after victory, to proceede with cruelty. Let this suffice for the partialities and state of the Citty, the multiplicity whereof, if I should addresse myselfe in particular to remember, time rather then Copy would faile my indevours. Wherefore I will retire my pen to purpose. CHAPTER XIII

CHAPTER XIV

1. Metellus is made Lord Generall of the Army in Affrique. 2. He reformeth the Army. The description of a worthy Generall

AFTER the composition of Aulus, and the foule discomfiture of our people, Q. Metellus and M. Silanus, Consuls elect, cast lots for the Provinces. Numidia fell to Metellus, a man of action; who although he tooke part against the proceedinges of the people, yet neyther partie could blemish his honour or good report. At his first entry into Office, he set order in al businesses which concerned his colleague, as well as himselfe, and afterward wholly bent his minde to the disposing of the present warre. Metellus is made Lord Generall of the Army in Affrique

Whereupon growing into despaire of the old Army, he presseth and inrolleth new souldiers, desireth aid on al hands, prepareth armour, weapons, horse, and all other warlike necessaries, with plentifull provision of victuals and all things else, which he knew would bee otherwise wanting in a variable warre, subject to the penury of accustomed supplies. To make up which his proportions (by the good leave of the Senate) the associates, the Italians

[1] *Per fas et nefas.*

CHAPTER XIV

and forraigne kinges, of their owne free wils, adjoyned their aydes. So did every Citty, even to emulation.

So having all things in a readinesse, and prepared to his owne content, he departeth towards Numidia, with the generall applause of the Citty, partly mooved thereunto by hopes of his good carriage and honourable disposition; partly for his invincible neglect of extorsive riches; but most of all, for that, by the Avarice of our former Governors, our forces had bin broken and dishartned, and the enemies encreased and encouraged in Numidia.

At his arrival in Affricke Sp. Albinus the Proconsull resigneth the Army, undisciplind, out of heart, neyther endurable of daunger nor labor: brave in tongue, slow in action: Driving preyes out of their friends countries, it selfe, a prey to the spoiling enemy: utterly destitute of obedience and modest carriage: So farre out of Order, that the new Generall became more pensive to reclaime them from these inured absurdities, then any way hopefull either to receive assistaunce or good service by their tumultuary multitudes.

Notwithstanding, although the delayes of the Summer Elections [1] had deceived his intentions, and although he knew that the peoples ears itched with expectation of good newes, yet stood he resolved not to begin the war, before he had trained his souldiers to their ancient discipline.

For Albinus being terrified at the disasterous overthrowe of his Brother and the Army, during so much of the Summer season as hee spent in the Province, had set up his rest, not to dislodge; but billeted his soldiers in (as it were) standing campes without any remoove, untill stench, or want of forrage inforced him thereto. And then neither, according unto military discipline, hee set forth Sentinels, but suffered every man to forsake his Ensigne at his owne pleasure. Water carriers, base groomes were loosely permitted to accompany the horsemen, aswel by

[1] *Per discensionem impeditæ.*

day as by night, without conduct accustomed to forrage the Countries, to pillage the Villages, to drive Troopes of Prisoners, and heards of Cattle; and then to barter them with forraine Marchants for Wines, and such like trifles.

Lastly, they were not ashamed to sell their publick allowance, and yet to buy every daies bread: whatsoever disgraces, the scandals of Sloth and Ryot could either impose, or possibly devise against the profession of souldiery, al these, and more were really to bee found in this our Armie.

Admidst all these difficulties, I find Metellus to bee a man no lesse sufficient, then wise and politicke in warlike accidents; judicially was his desire of reformation mixed with severity.

He reformeth the Army. The description of a worthy Generall

2. By his first proclamation he prohibited all motives to idlenesse (viz.) That no man in the campe shoulde bring bread to sell, or flesh ready sodden: that no grooms should follow the Army, neither that the common souldier should have a slave or a Beast in camp or in march. To what remained, by discretion he limited measure. This done, by interchangeable dislodgings hee made daily removes, and intrenched his campe with a Pallisado and a ditch, nethlesse he releeved the watch continually; and himselfe with the Officers would goe the round. In his marches he would sometimes shew himselfe in the heade of his battallions, sometime in the Arereward, but oftner in the midst.

He would suffer no man to straggle out of order: The Ensignes, he would be sure, should be strongly accompanied. The souldier must carry both his Armes and provant. Thus rather by prohibiting and forwarning of Offences, then by exemplary punishment, in short time he brought his Souldiers to perfect discipline.

THE HISTORY OF THE

CHAPTER XV

1. Metellus rejecteth the messengers of Jugurth. 2. The stratagems of a slie Enemie. 3. Metellus taxeth in Vaga

Metellus rejecteth the messengers of Jugurth

UGURTH by his espyals comming to notice of Metellus his courses, as also understanding what was the repute of his integrity at Rome; began to take his owne weakenesse into distrust, and in truth now labored a finall composition: Which to mediate, hee sent certaine Messengers unto the Consul with these Overtures; That hee would simply yeelde, with reservation of his owne and his Childrens lives: what ever he held deere in the world besides, he would frankely referre it to the good pleasures of the Roman people.

But experience had taught the Roman General, that the Numidians were a perfidious Nation, of a variable disposition, and evermore enclined to Novelty. And therefore he soundeth every one of the Messengers apart, and uppon good conjectures, finding naught but plaine dealing; he maketh them great promises to betray Jugurth alive or dead, but especially alive (if possibly they could) into his hands: with the remainder of his determinations, concerning the Kings message, he acquainteth them in open audience.

Upon these tearmes he beginneth his first march into the enemies Countrey with his army aswel prepared to charge, as to receive the charging enemy.

The stratagems of a slie Enemie

2. Heere, contrary to the face of warre, the cottages were replenished with people, the fieldes with Cattle and husbandmen: The Kings officers of the Townes and villages, in honourable semblance welcommed the Consull, offered to give him corne, and to furnish him with carriages: yea, and

with good will to accomplish whatsoever was given them in command. For al these faire shewes, Metellus was nothing the more carelesse; hee marched in such order, as if the enemy had beene at hand; he sent out his vaunt-currers on every side, far and wide, all the messages of surrendry he tooke for mockage, and used them but as stratagems of pollicy to the plotting of mischiefe.

And therfore he himselfe marched in the vaward with the readiest Cohort, accompanied with a choice band of Slinges and Archers: C. Marius his Lieutenant ledde the Rereward with the horsmen. Upon both sides he equally devided the Auxiliary horse, under the conduct of the Tribunes of the Legions, and the captains of the Cohorts; that beeing intermingled with the light harnessed footemen, they might be ready at all assaies to repulse the enemies Chivalry. For Jugurth was so subtle, and so wel acquainted with the Scituation of places, and the Art of soldiery, that it was hard to resolve, whether he were more to be doubted absent or present, intreating of peace, or menacing of warre.

Metellus taxeth in Vaga

3. Not farre out of the way by which Metellus shoulde march, lay Vaga, the principal and best frequented Mart-towne of the Numidian kingdome, and the staple of the Italian Nation. Hereinto the Consull made proofe either to put a garison, or uppon denial to force the place, if opportunity seemed to advise him thereto. And therefore he commanded the inhabitants to provide him corne, and other such necessaries, which the wantes of war required: supposing (as experience made proofe) that the credite of the Marchants, and the place fit for the stowage of his provision, woulde become very advantagious to his future preparations. Amidst these devises, Jugurth by submissive messengers, and with far more earnestnesse then before, beseecheth peace, offring unto Metellus an absolute surrendry of al, except his owne life, and his childrens.

These as the former, the Consull motioneth, and dismisseth to betray their maister, and neither granteth, nor denieth the petitioned Articles: holding the King in

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susspence by delayes, in expectation of the yssue of the Messengers promises.

Jugurth comparing the deeds of Metellus with the reports of his Messengers, found himselfe now overreached in his owne devises; that peace in words were pretended, but in effect the Warre was most rigorously prosecuted. A good Towne was alienated; the Country discovered: and the good wils of the people anticipated. Uppon the necessitous considerations whereof hee was constrained to betake himselfe to the resolve of Warre.

CHAPTER XVI

Jugurth resolveth for warre: The description of an excellent fought battell

Jugurth resolveth for warre: The description of an excellent fought battell

THEN by espyals discovering what waies his enemies tooke, of all sorts of people he levyeth as great forces, as possibly hee could, in good hope to do good by the oportunity of the place:[1] and so by wayes and unknowne passages hee overtaketh the Army of Metellus. In that part of Numidia, which uppon the division fell unto the share of Adherbal, southwarde riseth the River Muthul. From thence, a famous Mountaine almost one thousand and twenty paces distant of equall extension shewed itselfe. It was by Nature barren, unmanned, and dispeopled: but from the middest arose an exceeding high Hillocke, beset with Olives, Mirtils, and such like diversity of such trees, as are accustomed to grow in drie and sandy Countries. The middest of the adjoyning plaine for want of water lay desert: the remnant, as much as lay neere the River, beset with bushes and shrubs, was frequented by

[1] *s. Aptus insidiis.*

men and Cattle: upon this hill, thus diversly scituated in the midst thereof, Jugurth sheweth his Army thinly marshalled, and maketh Bomilchar Governour over this remainder of his footmen and the Elephants: and so leaveth him with instructions how to dispose of his people. CHAPTER XVI

Himselfe with the whole body of his Chivalry and his choisest footmen approacheth neare unto the mountain. And then turning to his people, he goeth from one company to another, Severally admonishing and intreating them to beare in memory their ancient prowesse, and by being victors free their kingdome from the Avarice of the Romaines. Then he put them in mind, how they were but to deal with those fellowes, whom heeretofore they had routed, and inforced to passe *sub jugum*.[1] That they had but onely made change of their Captaine, not of their Cowardice: That, as their General, he had had an eye and care upon al accidents, as became him; That he had taken the advantage of the higher ground. That he had intermingled the trained men with raw novices so that they neede not to be affraide that few should bee overmatched with many, neither that undisciplined Souldiers should cope with their betters, and therefore they should stand resolute and intentive to charge their enemies, assoone as the signal were sounded. This day (quoth he) you shal either put end to your travailes by victory, or for ever heereafter begin the Tragedy of your miseries.

Lastly, he addresseth his speech to those, whom either he had advanced by reward or Office unto military honours, and praieth them, man by man to bee mindful of his favours, and they to say the like unto their followers. From words he applyeth to diversity of humors: some hee promiseth, some he threatneth, others hee emboldneth, and generally encourageth all sorts by one meanes or other.

All this while Metellus marching downe the hill, and ignorant of this the enemies approach, was with his army fully discovered to Jugurth. At first the unusuall apparition begat doubt, what the matter should signifie: for

[1] *Sub furcam ab hastis, ad summam ignominiam, ut ante.*

CHAPTER XVI

the Numidians and the horse were couched amongest the bushes, yet not fully hidde by the lownesse of the bowes. Notwithstanding the truce continued a while uncertain, both by the Nature of the place, and the enemies cunning, for they hadde obscured all their military ensignes: But at length upon further discovery, the Ambush was discerned and the battaile ordered.

The Battallion which by his first direction marched intire upon the right hand, being now neerest advanced towards the enemy, he changeth, and divideth it into three partes, in reliefe each of other. Betweene every band hee placeth his Archers and Slings, and rangeth his Cavalrie upon the head of the battaile. Then for shortnes of time, not permitted to use many wordes of incouragement, he bringeth his Army into the plaine without alteration of order, save that in the first ranks the souldiers turned their faces.[1] At his approch, when he perceiveth that the Numidians lay quiet and stirred not from the hill, he dispatched Colonell Rutilius with the readiest Footemen, and some horse towards the River, to prevent the enemies commodious encamping; upon conjecture, that by light skirmishes and often alarms, Jugurth would do his worst to stay their dislodge: but if he found no profe by force, then he would try to weary the souldier by heate and thirst. After Rutilius followed the Generall, slowly descending the hill, as the nature of the place would give leave. Marius guided the rereward, himselfe marched with the horsmen of the left wing;[2] those in the battaile made the vant-guard.

Jugurth observing that the tayle of the enemies Army had passed his formost ranks, maketh hast to take that part of the hill from whence Metellus had descended, with a troope of some two thousand footemen, fearing least the departed enemy would thither returne againe for refuge, and fortifie. This done, he suddenly giveth the signall to charge. Some of the Numidians beginne with the hindermost, and cut them in peeces, whilest others of their com-

[1] *Nam à latere erant a dextra.*
[2] *Eo quod a dextro latere erant hostes.*

panions charge in in flanck, somtime upon the left side, and sometime uppon the right. They shew themselves every where with their menacing weapons : They presse hard in, and in all places make triall to disorder the Roman ranks.

Those of best courage, who not able to indure these Bravadoes, offered to answer the insulting Numidian, were deluded by the uncertaine fight of the enemy. For they were wounded a farre off, and found no meanes of revenge by striking or advancing to joyne. For the horsmen were instructed before by Jugurth, that when any troopes of Romans pursued them in flight, they shold not retire in thick companies, or in one intire body, but that one troop should fly this way, another that, and far assunder : that so finding themselves superiour in number, they might attack either upon their sides, or at their backes, some seperated or dismounted companions, in case they were not able to make their party good with the whole troop. But if they found that the hil was more advantagious for their retraite then the plaines, to those places the Numidian horses were also accustomed, to make quicke way through the bushes. But these thickits and rough passages prohibited the pursute of the Romans.

The whole businesse seemed long doubtfull, variable, bloudy, and lamentable : some fled, others pursued, neyther the Ensignes were followed, nor order kept : every man, as daunger attached him, there received the charge and made his best resistance. Corslets, Weapons, Horses, Men, Friends and Enemies lay intermingled in one anothers gore : in the medly, counsell and command were of no use : fortune governed all.

By this time a great part of the day was spent, and yet the victory uncertaine : All sortes languished with labour and heat. But Metellus perceiving that the Numidians began somewhat to faint, by some and some he gathered his scattered Troopes into one Battallion : hee relyeth the rankes, and faceth the adverse footmen with foure Legionary cohorts. These, Metellus finding after their toylesome labour breathing themselves in the higher grounds,

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generally beseecheth and intreateth not to forsake their fellow Souldiers, neyther to suffer their enimies, already as good as defeated, to wrest the victory out of their possessions: hee telleth them, that they have neither Campe nor fortified place to retire unto. The safety of their lives consisted onely in their Swords.

Neither all this while was Jugurth ydle: he visited every place, he entreated, he re-enforced: yea, even himselfe with certaine choise companions prooved an onset upon every quarter. He releeved the wearied, hee charged the wavering, and fighting a far off, in proper person he repulsed the bands which fought most couragious. Thus these two excellent Generals behaved themselves: in sufficiencies equal, in forces unequal. In souldiery Metellus had the advantage, the place [1] was discommodious: except in goodnesse of souldiery, Jugurth had the better in all points. But the Romans understanding that they had neither place of refuge, neither that the enemy would bee brought at any hand to fight in grosse, for that it now grew late, acording to the generals behest seized upon the hil where the enimy fought. The Numidians having lost their footing, disbanded, and fled, few perished: a swift paire of heels, and a country unknowne to the Romans, saved many mans carkasse. During the time of this medly, Bomilchar who as we told you before, was by Jugurth made Gouvernour of the Elephants and certain foot companies, assoone as he perceived that Rutilius was past him, by little and little advanceth his souldiers into the plain. And as the Colonell without noise (as was requisit) hastneth toward the river, whereunto by command he was formerly dispatched, Bomilcar ordereth his battel, without sending forth of any espials to discover how the enemy proceeded in either of both places. But assoone as he had intelligence, that Rutilius was arrived, and without feare incamped, as also he heard the reports of the cries from the campe of Jugurth (as a signall that the battell was begun), upon mistrust lest the Colonell, being likewise advertised of the cause, and

[1] *s. ubi pugnatum est.*

manner, should arise, and so succour his distressed companions; the battallion (which upon distrust of their valor, he had first close ranged by Art), he now extendeth in breadth, the readier to give stoppage to the enemies journy. Thus marcheth Bomilchar towards the camp of Rutilius. Upon a sodaine the Romans perceive a huge rising of dust: the Country thick of bushes, hindered their perfect discovery. At first, they supposed it to be the sand raised by winde, but after they saw continuance, and that as the army came forward, the nearer the smoke approched, upon true knowledge of the cause, they betake them to their weapons, and according to commandement, they stand armed before the gates of their campe. By this time they attacked one another, and both parties eagerly joyne with usuall clamours. The Numidians stood fast as long as they sawe hope in their Elephants, but as soone as they perceived, that they could not performe their Offices, for the thicknesse of the branches of Trees, but were overthrowne and incompassed, they betooke them to flight, and casting away their Armes, what by the neare-nesse of the hill, and what by the darkenesse of the night (now at hand) many escaped in safety: Four Elephants were taken, the residue in number forty were all slaine. CHAPTER XVI

This business thus dispatched, the Souldiers though weary and faint with their journey, with inclosing of the Campe, and the late fight; yet, for that Metellus delayed his comming beyond opinion, in the same order and equipage, wherewith they lately fought, they march out to meet him. For the subtile aproch of the Numidians would neither suffer remisnesse, nor give leisure to trifle.

At their first approach about midnight, by the noyse which they made, being taken for enemies, some began to feare, others to cry to Armes: and surely a great mischance had happened by improvidence, if the horsemen, sent out on both sides, had not discovered the error. Now in stead of feare, the joy is generall. The souldiers merrily call one to another, they tell and are told of their adventures: each party praiseth his own valour to the heavens. So

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stand mortall affaires: In prosperity the coward shareth of glory: in adversity the best onely undergoe the scandall.

Metellus stayeth foure dayes in this place to cure the wounded. According to warlike discipline he rewarded those that had well deserved in the battaile. In an Oration hee praiseth every mans action, and giveth thankes: He exhorteth them to retaine the like courage against future brunts, which will prove more easie. For by this victory hazard is ended; the remainder is but matter of prey. Then he dispatcheth fugitives and fit spies into the enemies Countrey, to learne what course Jugurth tooke: whether he conversed with a few, or retained the face of an Army, and howe hee carried himselfe now after the losse of this victory.

But Jugurth had retired himselfe into Wooddy and strong scituated places: and there had levied an Army, in number farre exceeding the first, but base and cowardly, fitter for the plough then the field.

This so fell out upon occasion, that no man of the Numidian Nation followed the King in his flight, save onely his owne Horse-men. In such cases every one retireth, whither himselfe pleaseth: Neyther is it accounted any Souldierlike disgrace, for that it is and hath beene the custome of the Countrey.

Upon which advertisements Metellus perceiving that the Kings courage nothing relented, and that if the warre were renued, it stood in Jugurths pleasure, how it should be managed. Moreover, that hee was to fight against an unequall enemy, to whom it was lesse losse to be overthrowne, then to Conquer: determined to make no more experimentes by fights and raunged battailions, but to carry the War in another fashion:

Accordingly, he marcheth unto the wealthyest places of Numidia, he wasteth the Country, and forceth and fiereth many Castles and Townes, some without Garrison, some stuffed with Souldiers pressed hand over-head: Hee sleyeth the youth, and giveth all in prey to the Souldiers mercy. The people being terrified with these extreamities yeelded,

gave pledges, and in plentifull manner supplyed Corne, and all other necessaries. Wheresoever a Garrison was thought needfull, there one was thrust in. CHAPTER XVI

These passages danted the King more then an infortunate battell. For, whereas before, flight was his safety, now was he constrayned to follow.[1] And hee that of late could not make good the place for fight of his owne chusing, is now compelled to defend himselfe at perill in another mans Countrey.

Notwithstanding, hee taketh counsell from Necessity his best Counsellour: he commaundeth his people to stay his returne in the foresaide places: himselfe undiscerned with some chosen Horsmen, by bywaie and nightly journies followeth Metellus; at a sudden he assaulteth the Roman forragers: slayeth some unarmed: taketh many prisoners, and not one returneth unwounded. This doone, before reliefe could be ministred, as they had in command, they retired into the fastnesse of the adjoyning Mountaines.

CHAPTER XVII

1. The joy of the Cittie for the good newes of Affrique. 2. The unquiet spirit of Jugurth

GREAT was the joy in Rome, first for the good fortune of Metellus: secondly, for that hee had reduced the army to its ancient discipline. That notwithstanding the disadvantage of place, he had nethlesse overthrowne the enemy by pure valour: that he kept the field, and lastly, that Jugurth late grown insolent by the Cowardice of Aulus, was now constrained to protect his life by flight, and in deserts. The joy of the Cittie for the good newes of Affrique

[1] *s. Inimicum devastantem.*

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Heereupon the Senate decreeth an humble thanksgiving to the immortall Gods for these prosperous successes. The Citty which before stood quaking and pensive in event of the warre, now maketh festival, and extolleth Metellus to the skies.

Metellus againe with greater intension laboureth an absolute victory: he maketh hast on al hands, and taketh care not to be taken tardy in any place. He caleth to mind that Envie is the companion of Glorie; and therfore by how much the more his reputation was augmented, by so much the more were his cares encreased: the reason, wherefore after the ambushes of Jugurth, he would not suffer the Army to forrage at Liberty. When the Cohorts wanted Corne or stover, he stood Sentinell with all the Horsse: Himselfe ledde the Army, Marius the residue. The countrey now suffered more wast by fire, then by driving of preyes. They pitched their campe in two places, not farre assunder: if assistance were needfull, all were readie; but when they meant to spread the terror of their Armes, by procuring of flight or feare, they made their removes of greater distance.

The unquiet spirit of Jugurth

2. All this while, Jugurth followeth by the Mountaines: watcheth for times and places of advantage, and where upon likelyhood he thinketh that the enemy will resort, he destroyeth the forrage, and impoysoneth those fewe waters, which nature had bestowed uppon those sandy places. Sometime he sheweth himselfe to Metellus, sometime to Marius, sometime he maketh a Bravado to charge in troope, and forthwith retireth againe into the Mountaine. He commeth out againe, and now threatneth one, then another: he neither extendeth battel, nor can away with rest, his onely project was to hinder his enemies desseignes.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Metellus besiegeth Zama. 2. Jugurth almost recovered Sicca. 3. Repulsed by Marius. 4. Distresseth the Roman campe. 5. Relieved by Marius

THE Romaine Generall perceiving that neither by policy hee coulde weary his enemy, neither by injuries provoke him to fight; undertaketh to besiege a great City, beeing the chiefe fortresse of defence in that part of the kingdom called Zama: supposing (for the weight of the businesse) that Jugurth would not forslow to releeve his distressed Subjects: and there he meant to fight with him. Metellus besiegeth Zama

But Jugurth by certaine fugitives having learned the intent of the Consull, by great journies preventeth him: He encourageth the inhabitants to defend their walles valliantly, and giveth them these fugitives in assistance. Of his whole army he accounted these the strongest party, for that he was sure they could not deceive him. Moreover, he promiseth to relieve them in person in convenient time. And so having composed the businesse he came for, he retireth againe unto his desart abode: where hee had made no long tariance, but he getteth understanding, that Marius was upon his journey, commanded Sicca to provide wheat with a few Cohorts. This Citty was the first that forsooke the king after his overthrow.

2. Hether he commeth by night with his choice horsmen: he chargeth the Romans in their very entring out of the gates; and at the same instant, incourageth the Siccenses to assault the cohorts on their backs. Hee cryeth out, that now fortune hath offered them a notable occasion by Jugurth almost recovered Sicca

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some famous deede to blot out their former defection, which if they would performe, that he should bee able to spend the remainder of his life in the kingdome, and they in liberty, without feare and danger. 3. Surely, if Marius had not brought on the ensignes, and made way through the midst of his enemies, without doubt all, or the greatest part of the Siccenses, had changed their allegiance: so mutable is the faith of a Numidian.

Repulsed by Marius

The Jugurthines being a while sustained by the King, when they saw, that nevertheles their enimies with more eager courage pressed upon them, with the losse of some few, provide for flight. Marius commeth safe to Zama.

The Towne was scituated in a plaine, stronger fortified by mans industry then Art, in want of no necessary provision, but ful stored both with men and armour. According to time and place Metellus having all things in readinesse, environeth the walles with his Army: he commandeth the Colonels every man to take care of his charge, and upon a signe given, a great and generall clamour is raised. This nothing terrifieth the Numidians, they stand fast and prepared without tumult. The assault is begun: The Romans do the utmost of their endevors: Some a far off fight with stones and missile engines, some invade and sap the wall. Some set up scaling Ladders, and desire to bring the fight to handy-strokes.

On the contrary the Townsmen tumble down massy stones, sharp piles and long darts, with flaming firebrands besmeared with pitch and sulphure upon those that stand nearest: such was their violence, that those which stoode farthest off had not the best courages; for these dartes discharged from Engines, or shot from hand, had wounded many. The valiant and cowardes were in like danger, but not in like repute. 4. The game going thus at Zama, behold on a sodaine Jugurth assaulteth the Roman campe with a strong company. They that had the custody thereof lay carelesse, expecting nothing lesse then battell. Jugurth entreth: and our people standing amased at the sodennesse of the event, for fashion sake, aske counsel one

Distresseth the Roman campe

of another what is to be done. Some fly, some betake them to armes, the greatest part are either slaine or wounded: of the whole rable not above forty being mindfull of the Roman name, casting themselves in a ring, recovered a place somewhat higher then their enemies, and could not by much ado be driven to forsake their standing. The shot that was sent them, they resent againe: being but few, the seldomer their weapons fell frustrate amongst many.

If the Numidians drew nigh, then they made proofes of their valour, by slaughter, overthrowes and repulses.

Metellus in the hottest of his businesse, heareth a clamour at his backe: whereuppon turning his horse, hee perceived that the flight maketh towardes him: a token, that they were of his friends. In all hast he commaundeth the horse to make towards the campe, and forthwith dispatcheth C. Marius with the cohorts of the associates, beseeching him with teares in his eyes, that hee would not suffer any disgrace now to attaint the victorious Armie; neither that he would suffer the enemy to escape without revenge. Marius executeth his generals commaund with speed. Jugurth being somewhat hindered by the fortification of the camp, with the losse of many of his followers, escaped into his solitary strong places. Some of his people leaped headlong over the trenches; others in streit places making more hast, then good speed, were actors of their owne ruines.

Metellus leaving the Towne untaken, assoon as night approached, returned with the Army into the camp. The next day before his going to the siege, he commaundeth the whole Cavalry to watch and ward before the gates of the Camp upon that side, whereon the enemies approch was feared. The gates, and adjoyning Bulwarks he quartered to the Tribunes; and then comming before the Towne, as the day before, he attempteth the wall.

Jugurth againe undiscovered, and on the soddaine invadeth our people: they that stood nearest were somwhat daunted, the residue came quickly in to succors. Neither

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could the Numidians have long held out, but that by the mixture of their footmen with their horse, they had given a great checke to the Romans at the first onset. By whose assistance, they used not now (as in accustomed fight of horse) first to charge, and then to retire, but in ful cariere to affront any that came, so to intangle and disorder the Army. Thus with these ready and trained footmen, they had almost routed their enemies.

This very instant, Zama was strongly pressed: the Colonels and Tribunes discharged their duties most valiantly: other hopes they expected none, but such as their own prowesse could affoord each other.

In like manner the Townesmen resisted as valiantly: they fought stoutly, and prepared for all events.

One party was more violent to wound another, then carefull to defend their owne bodies. The cry was mixt with contrary encouragements, with contrary joyes, and contrary sorrowes. The noise of Weapons ascended the Aire, and no spare of shot was made on either side. Those upon the wals, assoon as the heat of the fight a litle slaked took leisure to behold the horse fight of Jugurth: As the Jugurthines either prospered or had the worse, so might a man perceive in their faces, courage or feares: and as they could either be seen or heard by their fellowes, some they taught, some they incouraged, made signes with their hands, and like moveable gestures with their bodies as men are accustomed to doe in avoiding, or weilding their missile weapons.

Relieved by Marius

5. Which being made knowne to Marius, (for upon that quarter lay his charge) he began of purpose to slaken the assault, and to dissemble a distrust of prevailing, permitting the Numidians at pleasure to behold the Kinges encounter.

Whilst the Zamenses stood thus earnestly gazing upon their fellowes, uppon the sodaine Marius attempteth the wall with great violence: the souldiers by Scalado had almost gained the curtaine. The Townesmen run to defence: stones, fireworkes, and shot, fly thicke and three-

fold. The Romans at first received them valiantly; but after that one or two ladders were broken and overthrown, those that stood upon them were pittifully brused. The residue as well as they could retired, some sound, the greater part wounded. And thus night parted the fray. CHAPTER XVIII

CHAPTER XIX

1. Metellus riseth from Zama. 2. Wintereth his army. 3. Turneth force into pollicy. 4. Jugurth yeeldeth, flyeth off againe

METELLUS perceiving that hee spent time and men to no purpose, that the Town was impregnable, that Jugurth could not bee forced to fight but by ambushes, and in places of his owne choise, and lastly, that Summer was spent, he arose from Zama, and into those towns which had revolted from Jugurth (being by nature or art any way fortified) he thrust in sufficient garrisons. Metellus riseth from Zama

2. The residue of his Troops he led into the province, there to spend the Winter in garrison. Being there, as others had done, he suffered them not to spend their times in sloth and lazinesse: but sithence he could not prevaile by force, he worketh the Kings frends by policy, and prepareth to make use of theyr trayterous mindes instead of fight. Wintereth his army

3. Acquaintance is the Anvile, on which this project must be hammered: Bomilchar the man. This was he, that had accompanyed Jugurth to Rome, and after giving in of sureties, had notwithstanding secretly made an escape in feare of processe, for the death of Massiva. Him hee meaneth to make proofe of by faire words and golden promises. Turneth force into pollicy

CHAPTER XIX

First he soundeth, and secretly effecteth a private conference, and then upon oth, hee avoweth to procure him pardon, and performance of all other promises from the Lords of the Senat, if he would undertake to deliver him Jugurth alive, or dead.

The Numidian, being partly of a perfidious disposition, and partly misdoubting, that if the Romans and his Lord Jugurth fell into tearmes of peace, himselfe by the Articles of agreement, might happen to bee demaunded, and delivered to punishment, was quickly perswaded.

Upon the first occasion, Bomilchar finding Jugurth troubled and perplexed for his evill fortune, commeth unto him, and with teares in his eyes, moveth and beseecheth him, that he would now at length looke uppon the compassionate estate of himselfe, his Children, and the whole Kingdome of Numidia, which had so well deserved at his hands. He fayleth not to put him in mind, that in al fights they had carryed away the worst, that the Countrey lay wasted, that much people were either slaine, or carryed away Prisoners: that the wealth of the Kingdome was exhausted. By this time (sayth hee) you have made tryall inough what your Souldiers can doe, what your fortunes can promise: I could wish you to advise, lest your hopes uppon delayes fayle you not, the Numidians take some course to provide for themselves.

By these and like reasons, he insinuateth with the kings humours, to fall to composition. Messengers are sent to shewe the Generall, that Jugurth is ready to performe whatsoever is commaunded: that without capitulation he will simply yeeld himselfe and his kingdome to his discretion.

Jugurth yeeldeth, flyeth off againe

4. The Generall speedily causeth all the Gentlemen of Senators ranke to bee sent for out of their wintering places, with them and others whom he thinketh meet, he goeth to counsell: according to ancient custome by an order set downe by the Counsell, Jugurth is commanded by Messengers, to bring in two hundred thousand waight of silver, all his Elephants, and a proportion of horse and

munition. Which beeing performed with expedition, the Consull likewise commandeth the fugitives to be brought bound before him. According to commaund the greater part are so presented: upon the first motion of the composition, some few departed into Mauritania toward king Bocchus. CHAPTER XIX

Thus Jugurth, being bereaved of his Armes, men and mony, is summoned to Tisidium to performe the Articles; when againe he beganne to repent him of his bargaine, and by the sting of his owne conscience to growe suspitious of deserved punishment.

His doubt wore out many daies, somtime he recounted, that in the irkesomnesse of adverse fortune, all miseries were lighter then the pressures of warre, at another time, his mind was perplexed to thinke upon the hard estate of those, who from a kingdome, were dejected to servitude. At last, being not yet unfurnished with many and great meanes of assistants uncashiered, he beginneth the warre afresh.

At Rome the Lordes going to Counsell, concerning the provinces, Numidia is againe decreed to Metellus.

CHAPTER XX

Marius affecteth the Consulship: his politicke proceeding

IN these times, by chance C. Marius offered Sacrifice to the Gods at Utica. The Auruspex declared that the signes portended great and wonderful events. These the favours of the Gods he laid up in his minde, and other times making like triall of his fortunes, he alwaies found the tokens answerable. Marius affecteth the Consulship: his politicke proceeding

An immeasurable desire of attaining the Consulship, had long ago possessed the man: to the atchiving whereof,

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besides the discent of his house, he had good giftes at will: Industrious, honest, a great souldier, high minded, Parsimonious in private, a contemner of wealth and pleasure in publicke; onely greedy of glory.

Notwithstanding his birth, and his bringing up at Arpinas in his Childhood (where he first learnt to undergoe the labour of war) he spent his youth in service for wages, and not in learning the Greek toong, or City-complements. And thus by being conversant among virtuous exercises, his experience in short time grew up to be absolute.

At his first standing for a military Tribuneship before the people, (when many knowing him not by face, at length knew his name) he easily caried it with the general suffrage of all the Tribes. By this step he ascended from one degree to another, so sufficiently managing his carriage in office, that he was by all men censured woorthy of a better, then the present he injoyed: yet durst not so woorthy a personage make sute for the Consulship [1] before his time. Afterwarde his ambition was bounded by no limit.

Even in these times the Nobility conferred the Consulship, either by partiality or succession: the Comminality, all other inferior offices. No new man, how sufficient soever, nor any growne honorable by desert, were thoght worthy of that honourable calling; [2] yea the place was censured to be discredited, if any such person attained it. But after Marius grew confident, that the southsaiers prophesies concurred with the imagination of his thoghts, he desireth dismission of Metellus, with intention to go for Rome there to make suite for the Consular dignity. The man [3] althogh he were virtuous, honorable, and indowed with many excellent qualities yet were they accompanied with disdaine and pride. Influences generall to all Nobility: who at first beeing mooved at the novelty,[4] tooke occasion to wonder at the enterprise, and by way of friendship

[1] *Quo ab aruspice ad altiora petenda animadverteretur.*
[2] *Quia non ex patribus ortus.*
[3] *s. Metellus.*
[4] *Quia novus homo, et municipalis.*

to disswade him not to begin so unlawfull a suite, neither to rack his thoghts above his fortunes. Al things wer not to be desired of all men: and your place (quoth he) is a sufficient recompence for your deserts. Lastly, he wished him to bee well advised, before he motioned a request of so high a nature before the Roman people, from whom by Law, nothing but a just repulse was to be expected.

When these, nor many like speeches, could divert the mind of Marius, Metellus answered: that as soone as the common cause would admit permission, he would yeilde to his request.

Againe, being at sundry times after importunate to be gone, it is reported, that he wished him not to make over much hast. For (quoth he) there is no time past for you nor my Sonne to stand for the Consulship. The Gentleman served at the same time in his fathers Pavilion, beeing about twenty yeares old.

This quip, partly in regard of the place affected, and partly for the deniall of departure, extreamly exasperated the minde of Marius against his General. Ambition and wrath (two the worst Counsellors) wholy possessed him, all his deeds and words now tended to popularity. The souldiers under his Regiment lived more loosely then accustomed: to the Marchantes of Utica he would sometimes scandall the warre, and sometime bost of himselfe; That, if he were Gouernour but of halfe such an Army, within few daies he would present Jugurth in chaines: That, the Generall prolonged the Warre of purpose: That the man was of no worth, but onely desirous too long to retain the command of proud soveraignty. All which imputations seemed to them the more credible, for that by the continuance of warre their traffique was hindered. For to a mind set upon covetousnesse nothing seemeth to be performed with sufficient dispatch.

Moreover in our Army conversed one Gauda a Numidian, the sonne of Manastabal, and Nephew of Massinissa, a sickly man, and thereby somewhat crasie of mind, whom Micipsa had declared second heire of the kingdome. This

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man had requested of Metellus, first that he woulde give him leave according to the custome of Kinges, to set his chaire next to the Generals seat; secondly, that hee would pre-appoint him a troope of Roman horsemen to guard his body. Metellus denied both: the Honor, for that it represented that majestie, which the Romans termed, and hated, Kingly: and the Guard, for that it was disgracefull, to deliver a band of Roman horse for the safegard of a Numidian.

To this Numidian perplexed in mind, Marius addresseth his speech; and adviseth him to bee revenged on the Consul, according to his instructions. He incourageth the man (weake God wot by sicknesse,) with pleasing courtshippe; calleth him King, Honorable, and the Nephew of Masinissa; and that shortly he should be invested in the kingdome of Numidia, if Jugurth were once slaine or taken. Which should the sooner come to passe, if fortune so favoured him, that he his friend, might once bee sent as Consull to manage the warre. By this Stratagem he worketh Gauda, the Roman horsemen, the soldiers, the marchants, and diverse others gulled with shadowes of peace, to write their scandalous letters to their friends at Rome, against Metellus: marry, with this conclusion, That they should require Marius for General. Thus was the Consulshippe labored in his behalfe, by the suffrage of many an honest and upright man, yea (and as lucke served that very season) the nobility being curbed by the law Manlia, new men were nominated by the Pleibeians.[1] And so all things fell out happily for Marius.

[1] *Ad magistratum re malè gesta a nobilibus.*

WARRE OF JUGURTH

CHAPTER XXI

Jugurth falleth to his old practises, and recovereth Vaga, to the great confusion and disgrace of the Romans

FTER Jugurth had falsified his promise of personall submission, he openeth the war, he prepareth all necessaries with admirable diligence, he slaketh no time, he traineth his soldiers, and soundeth the revolted cities by bribes and menacies. Those which yet remained at his devotion, he fortifieth, and renueth or buyeth armours, weapons, and the like ammonitions, as by the former treaty of peace he had diminished.

Jugurth falleth to his old practises, and recovereth Vaga, to the great confusion and disgrace of the Romans

Hee allureth the Romaine slaves, and tempteth the Garrisons with ready money: Finally, hee leaveth no course unthought on, nor unproved. Nowe the Vagenses (into whose citty Metellus upon the first motion of the treaty, had thrust in a garison) being overcom by the kings faire intreaties, and to speake truth, the better sort in mind never estranged from his service, began a conspiracie. As for the vulgar (a frequent accident, especially among the Numidians) being by nature of a variable disposition, seditious, quarrelsome, desirous of novelties, and contemners of peace and civility, they were soone drawne in for company. The match is made, and the third day following proclaimed the feastivall throughout all Affricke. Uppon the day they present sports and daunces, without any appearance or imagination of feare, but watching their best opportunities, they invite the Centurions, the Tribunes, and the Governor of the Towne T. Turpilius Sillanus, some to one house, some to another. In the midst of their merriment they murder them all, except Turpilius: this done, in a trice they set upon the disarmed and stragling

CHAPTER XXI

soldiers, observing then no military discipline because of the day. The common people, whereof some were made before hand by the Nobility, other some upon a naturall inclination to inconstancies, seconded their leaders. To those that knew nothing of the plot and combination, noveltie and the tumult a foot gave matter of consent and good liking. The Romans stood amazd at the sodennes of the uprore, and not knowing what course of safety to take, were in an extreame extasie. To fly unto the town castle, where their colours and shields were remaining, was to run upon their deaths, a garison of enemies already in possession, had shut the gates, and denied retrait. Boyes and women cast stones, and such like stuffe upon their heads in abundance from the toppes of houses. No man could prevent these uncertaine blowes, no nor the valiantest soldier come to be revenged on this weake and cowardly rable : so that good and evill, cowards and valiant souldiers in this medly died like deaths in great numbers. Of al the Italians, Turpilius the Governour escaped alone untouched through all the barborous Numidians and their closed gates.

Whether it so happened by the favour of his hoast, by ransome, or by chance, wee never could discover : onely thus much, a man may say ; that Turpilius showed himselfe a base and inconstant fellow, in preferring at such a pinch disgracefull life before a bed of fame.

CHAPTER XXII

1. Vaga recovered. 2. Turpilius beheadded

Vaga recovered

METELLUS beeing given to understand of the regaining of Vaga, was somwhat mooved at the accident, and retired out of sight.[1] But uppon the digestion of wrath and griefe, at last he hasteneth with extraordinary diligence to take revenge uppon so disloyall a treason. By

[1] *Ne signum virili animo indignum ostenderet.*

Sunne-set he taketh the fielde with the Legion, with which he wintered, and as many light Horse-men Numidians, as he possibly could rayse. CHAPTER XXII

The next day, about the third howre, hee arrived in a certaine plaine, incircled about with indifferent heigh Banks. Here, to his Souldiers growne weary by their long march, and refusing to passe further, hee discovereth his intention: That Vaga was not above a mile distant: That they were obliged in duety to undergoe the remainder of the journey with patience, if it were but to inflict deserved punishment upon Traytors, for the miserable death of such their loyall and valiant fellow-Cittizens.

So by these speeches, as also by permission of prey, having regained their courages, in the fore-front he placeth his Horsemen, and commandeth his Foot-men to march close, without discovering their ensignes.

The people of Vaga observing, that the company approached theyr Towne; at first (as indeed it was) suspected Metellus, and shut their Gates: But afterwards for that they neither wasted, and those that came first to view were their Countrey-men, the Numidians, changing opinion, they supposed it to bee Jugurth, and needs would issue to congratulate their friends and fellowes.

Upon signal given, the horse-men and foot beate back the vulgar people towards the Citie: some seize upon the gates, and some upon the bulwarkes. Thus wrath and hope of spoile can make wearied bodies forget lazines.

2. The Vagenses had only two dayes to rejoyce for their Treason: The Citie being greate and rich, was sacked, and punished. Turpilius the governor, the sole man (as we told you) that escaped, was called before the Generall to answer the revolt:[1] He made some excuses, but was condemned to be whipped with rods, and then to be beheaded. For hee was a Citizen of Italie.[2] Turpilius beheaded

[1] *Præfectum decet pervigilem esse, nemini credere sed arcem semper tenere.*

[2] *Non ex urbe qualem lex Portia vetabat ad supplicium posci: ut ante Cæsar.*

THE HISTORY OF THE

CHAPTER XXIII

The treason of Bomilchar discovered, and the party executed

The treason of Bomilchar discovered, and the party executed

BOUT this time Bomilchar, by whose sollicitation Jugurth had condiscended unto the composition, nowe disavowed for pretexts of feare, began to grow jelous of the King, and the King of him. Bomilchar deviseth newe occasions: practiseth to put his intended promise to Metellus in execution night and day, wearieth his mind upon the project: and at last upon mature deliberation, associateth one Nabdalsa a welthy Gentleman, and one wel-beloved of his countreymen, into the conspiracy. His place was commonly to march somwhat disjoyned from the Kings troopes, and to execute those directions which Jugurth, either for wearines, or upon imploiment of other weighty affaires, could not himselfe attend. By these imploiments the man attained to wealth and reputation.

They both by joint consent agree upon the day: the execution they referre to time and opportunity. Nabdalsa retireth to his charge by commaundement appointed to affront the winter garrisons of the Romans, so to awe them from wasting the adjoyning territory without impediment.

At leisure, the gentleman by revolving the foulnesse of the fact, kept not time: To speake truth, feare disswaded performance. Bomilchar in like manner beeing desirous of dispatch, and perplexed at the irresolution of his associate, least peradventure by revealing the olde Treason, he might affect newe pardon, by trusty Messengers conveyeth Letters unto him; wherein hee taxeth him of base feare and carelesnesse: that he should remember his oath to the Gods by whom he had sworne; and lastly, to

bee very circumspect least the rewardes of Metellus by his default turned not to their destruction. He failed not in a manner to prophesie, that the destruction of Jugurth was at hand, the question onely rested in this, whether it should be finished by their Vertue, or the Generals good fortune, and therefore he wished him to take counsell [1] with his pillow, whether hee had rather receive a reward, or undergoe a shamefull death.

Upon the arrivall of these Letters, by great adventure Nabdalsa being wearied with travell and exercise, was cast upon his bed: where after he had wel weighed the words of Bomilchar, first care, and then sleepe (the oppressors of perplexed consciences) attacked his sences. His Secretary (a Numidian), trusty and gracious unto his master, and partaker of all his counsels (excepting this last) hearing of the delivery of certaine Letters, as at former times, supposing that his service was expected, entered the tent: where finding his Lord sleeping, and the letter carelessly laid upon his pillow, he took and read it. He posteth to the King.

Nabdalsa awaking, missing the Letter, and by swifte messengers understanding from point to point how matters were carried, first commaundeth to pursue his Secretary, but in vaine. Whereupon he himselfe in person goeth unto Jugurth, craveth pardon, and protesteth that what he had prepared and resolved to disclose, his servant had prevented. With teares hee craveth reconcilement, and in recompence of his former service, hee beseecheth him not to bury the suspition of so foule a treason in further remembrance.

The king contrary to his accustomed humor, benignly answereth; that Bomilchar and many others (whome hee knew were guilty of the conspiracy) had suffered death: and that not to exasperate any further dislike uppon this occasion, he had taken truce with his indignation.

After this disaster, no day, no night could affoord Jugurth any rest: place, men, and time, were suspitious

[1] *Consilium de judicio faciendo.*

CHAPTER XXIII

unto him. He feared his subjects and enemies alike. He looked strangely uppon all men, and started at every noise,[1] contrary to the honour of a King: By night hee tooke up his lodging, sometime in one place, somtime in another. And sometime being disquieted in his sleepe, hee would rise, lay hold on his sword, and disquiet all others.[2] This feare resembled frenzy.

CHAPTER XXIV

Marius in despight of the Nobility, is elected Consull by the people

Marius in despight of the Nobility, is elected Consull by the people

METELLUS being given to understand by certaine fugitives of the death of Bomilchar, and the discovery of the complot, prepareth and hasteneth all warlike provisions, with as speedy diligence, as hee did in the beginning at his first setting forth.

Hee likewise dismisseth Marius, whom for his untoward and crosse behaviour he now envied, supposing his service would smally sted him.

The common people at Rome, by the aforesaide Letters understanding what fame gave out, concerning the Generall and Marius, were glad to heare the reports of either.[3]

Nobility, which but lately advanced the credit of Metellus, now procured him envy: a vulgar discent, to Marius gained infinite favor: yet this by the way, partialities towards both counterpoised the ballance; Vertues or vices were never questioned. Seditious Magistrats put fewell to the popular fire. In all their orations they brand Metellus with desert of death: Marius they extoll as fast above desert.

[1] *Animus Tiranni nunquam quietus.*
[2] *Omnes timet, et timetur ab omnibus.*
[3] *De Mario, quod accusasse Metellum, de Metello, quod in crimen citaretur.*

Of the vulgar, being thus generally incensed, the Mechaniques and husband-men (whose wealth and credit consisted in their manuel labours) forsake their trades to countenance Marius, preferring his welfare before their thrift: whereat the gentry stood so amased, that after many a bitter controversie, they were glad to conferre the consular dignity upon this new man Marius.[1] CHAPTER XXIV

Then arose L. Manlius Mancinus, and petitioned the people whom they did please to make choise off, for Generall in the warre against Jugurth: with one voice they answered, Marius; although the Senat but a while before had appointed Numidia for Metellus his province: But the faction was too weake, it prevailed nothing.

CHAPTER XXV

1. Jugurth after his discomfiture, wholly relieth upon the fastnes of the desarts. 2. Flyeth to Thala. 3. Metellus foloweth, and forceth Thala. 4. The resolute Tragedy of the Fugitives

BY this time Jugurth having lost the hearts of his friends (some of whom he had slaine, and some for feare were fled to the Romans, and others to King Bocchus) began to be extremely disquieted with doubts and jelousies. Warre he could make none without sufficient commanders: and to make triall of new, sithence the old prove so perfidious, was a choice ful of danger. Neither the plot, the Counsel, nor the presence of any man could please him. His jornies and removes he changed every day, somtimes towards the enimie, Jugurth after his discomfiture, wholly relieth upon the fastnes of the desarts

[1] *Quia majores nunquam obtinuerant.*

CHAPTER XXV

somtime towards the desarts: to-day he was of opinion, that flight was his safest refuge, to-morrow armes. The like jelouzie he fostered of the sufficiency, and loyalty of his people. Thus, upon what side soever hee resolved, all things fell out preposterous.

Admidst these contrarieties of his perplexed conscience, the enemies Army sheweth it selfe on a suddaine.[1] The Numidians, according as the shortnesse of the time permitted, and Jugurth instructed, stand ready to receive the charge. The battaile is begun, and well maintained in that part where Jugurth commanded: As for the residue of his followers, at their first approach they tooke theyr heeles, and fled. Of Ensignes, weapons, and Prisoners, the Romans took few: for commonly in al fights, the Numidians repose greater confidence in their feete, then honour in their Armes.

Flyeth to Thala

2. After the rout, the first stage that Jugurth (now more then at any time before, mistrusting the successe of the action) breathed at, with the fugitives and part of the horsemen, were the Deserts; the second, Thala; a great and wealthy Borrough, the chamber of his Treasure, and the wardrobe of his childrens furniture.

Whereof when Metellus was advertised, although he knewe that the nearest river was fifty miles distant from the Towne, and the territory adjacent was waterlesse and barren, and dispeopled: yet such were his hopes to finish the warre, if hee might become Lorde of the place, that without further temporizing, he resolveth to overcome all difficulties: yea rather then to desist, to wrastle his utmost against Nature.

Metellus foloweth, and forceth Thala

3. In dispatch whereof, he commandeth all his beasts of carriage to be laden with no baggage, save ten daies sustenance for horse and man. He maketh the greatest provision he can for bottles and caske: Doth as much for tame Cattle throughout the Villages, and upon their backes layeth Vessailes of all contents: most of them were made of wood, taken out of the Numidian cottages. To the

[1] *Romani, qui eum derelinquere non audebant.*

borderers, after the flight, he injoyneth subjection, and to furnish him with water from the nearest rivers. The Randevow of delivery he proscribeth: and burdeneth not his owne Cattle, until he came to the River nearest the town, whereof we spake but now.

Now is Metellus upon his march towards Thala, when arriving at the place, where he had commanded the Numidians to attend him with water; by that time hee had pitched and fortified his campe, so violent a storme of raine is reported to have fallen from the heavens, that it yeelded water enough, and to spare, for him and his people. Victuals were as plentifull above expectation, for that (as it commonly falleth out) in alterations of State, every man proveth extraordinary officious.[1]

The souldiers reputed of the chance, as of a divine Omen: and upon confidence that the Gods were carefull of their fortunes, they doubled their courages.

The next day (contrary to all imagination of Jugurth) they arrive at Thala: the Townesmen, who till nowe beleeved that they had bin out of gunshot by their inaccessible scituation, stood astonished of so unlookt for an accident, but with all, make never the lesse preparation to maintaine warre; the Romans do the like.

But the King verily beleeving, that nothing was impossible to Metellus, as the onely man, who by industrie had overcome Armes, Engines, time, places, and Nature her selfe, the Conqueror of all other creatures; with his children and an infinite masse of money flyeth out of the Town by night. Afterward staying in no one place above a day and a night, upon cunning hee gave out that his affaires urged for expedition, but truth was, that he hoped by continuall and speedy chaunge of abode, to prevent Treason, which he feared extreamely: for who knoweth not that negligence inciteth ill counsel to make use of opportunity?

Metellus perceiving in what sort the Townesmen prepared for his welcome; and that the Town likewise was fortified by Art and Nature, incircleth the walles with a

[1] *Principium fervet medium calet, et tepet imum.*

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ditch and a rampart. Then commandeth he his souldiers, as the soile would give them leave, to raise their Vines against the fittest places, and upon them a mount, and upon the mount, Towers: and quartereth out the works to the defence of his Pioners.

The resolute Tragedy of the Fugitives

4. The Townesmen labour as fast to frustrate these devises: on either side nothing could be better performed to conquer, to defend. The Romans almost out of heart by infinite labour, and daily conflicts, the fortieth day after their first arivall, gained only the towne, the Fugitives consumed the treasure. For after they perceived, that the Ram played uppon the wall, and that with them there was no way but one, gold, silver, and what ever mortall people account precious, they stowed in the kings place: and then loading their sences with wine and good cheere, they fiered it, themselves, and the Place.

Thus, the punishment which the conquered expected at their enemies hand, they wreaked voluntarily uppon their owne carcases.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Metellus succoureth Leptis. 2. A digression upon occasion of the strange death of two Carthaginian brethren

Metellus succoureth Leptis

AS Thala was in saccage, certain Ambassadors from Leptis arrived before Metellus, intreating him to send a President with som companies into their town, for that one Hamilcar, a Noble man of the Citty, went about to alienat the allegiances of the inhabitantes from the Romans. From this his insolencie, neither the authority of the Magistrate, nor the terrour of the laws, could deterre him: unlesse they made hast, the safety

of the Towne with the loyalty of the Roman associates, was greatly to be doubted of. CHAPTER XXVI

From the beginning of the Jugurthian warre, the people of Leptis entred a league of confederacy with the Consull Bestia; and after him, they sent to Rome to perfect the Articles. After the confirmation whereof, they alwaies remained loyall confederats to the Roman people, yea and performed their utmost services to Bestia, Albinus and Metellus.

In regard whereof, at the first motion, they obtained their request of Metellus, who presently dispatched away foure Ligurian cohorts with C. Annius their Captaine.

The towne was first built by the Sidonians, whoe (as report goeth) arrived there by shippinge, being bannished their countrey for their civill dissentions.

It is scituated betweene two sandes, and seemeth to derive its name from the place. For uppon the utmost bounds of Affrica two baies extend themselves, in hugenes unequall, in condition equall; sometime as the winde standeth, navigable, at an other time dry and passable. For as the Sea prooveth high and tempestuous, so doe the waves drive the sands, the people and the rockie stones. Thus the use of the place dependeth upon the casualites of the stormes.

The language of the people is changed by the proximitie of the Numidians, but their lawes and religion remaine meerely Sidonian, which they have retained the better uncorrupted, for that they lived farre remote from the Court; many vaste and desart countries lying between them and the inhabited partes of Numidia.

A digression upon occasion of the strange death of two Carthaginian brethren

2. And now sithence the affaires of the Leptitans hath drawen my pen into these Regions, I thinke the worthy and memorable exploit of two Carthaginians there happening worth relation. The very place enforceth me to write of the accident.

At what time, the Carthaginians were Lords over the greater part of Affrique, the Cyrenians were also a state rich and powerfull. The vacable Countrey betweene them

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was sandye, by colour or nature nothing discernable; no river, no mountaine distinguished their borders. This indifferencie was cause of long wars to both parties, wherein after they had wasted their Legions, sunk and torne their navies, and almost ruinated both their estates, fearing least a third party taking the advantage, should prey aswell upon the conqueror as the conquered, by a mutuall truce they fel to agrement, each party to send their ambassadors from home upon a day prefixed: looke where both chanced to meete, there should bee the bondes of each others territory.

Two brethren named Phileni were sent from Carthage: The Carthaginians made all possible hast; the Cyrenians jornied slowly: whether to attribute the cause to negligence, or chance, I cannot resolve. For in these deserts the eies and faces of travellers are no lesse molested with tempests of sands, raised by the windes upon these levell, barrain, and vast plaines, then are the Marriners without compasse in outragious gustes at Sea. These for want of true kenning might bee impediments to their speed.

Which when the Cyrenians perceived, and for their negligence feared upon their returne to be punished, they cavilled at the Carthaginians, charging them, that they had departed from home, before the time appointed. The matter became litigious: The Cyrenians, were content to accept of any condition, rather then to returne with imputation of private disgrace. The Carthaginians advow to refuse no condition, so it were just and reasonable. The Cyrenians make this overture: That eyther the Carthaginians should suffer themselves to be buried alive in the place, which they desired to make the limit of their State: or else to suffer them (the Cyrenians) upon like tearmes, to passe further on to the end of their intended voyage The Phileni accepted the match, and sacrificed their lives to the honor of their Country, and there made choice to be buried. To these Brethren, the Carthaginians in that very place erected two alters: at home they recorded their memories with other ceremonies.

Now returne I to my matter.

CHAPTER XXVII

Jugurth flyeth to King Bocchus, and procureth him to make Warre against the Romans

FTER the losse of Thala, Jugurth supposing that no place could affoord him sufficient security, against the good conduct of Metellus; with small attendance, he resolveth to passe over the vast deserts, to the Getuli; a people rude and barbarous; who before that time, had never heard of the Roman name. Of these, he allureth a tumultuary multitude; by little and little inureth them to discipline; to follow their Ensignes, to hearken to their commanders, and finally to observe all other points of souldiery.

Jugurth flyeth to King Bocchus, and procureth him to make Warre against the Romans

Secondly, by present entertainment, and farre greater promises, he procureth the favourites of King Bocchus, to bee a meanes to his Majesty in favour of so distressed a neighbour, to begin the warre against the Romans.

His sute was the sooner and easier harkened unto, upon occasion, that in the beginning of this Warre, the King had sent his Ambassadors to Rome, to desire their love and friendship.

Which Overture most advantagious for the time, some few men, blinde through Avarice, and accustomed to make all suites saleable,[1] in the beginning frustrated.

Moreover, Jugurth had married the daughter of Bocchus: but that bonde is little accounted of amongest the Moores and Numidians; for that every man, according to his ability, may have as many wives as him list: some ten, some more: Kinges most of all: who having theyr minds thus distracted by variety, reckon no one for their lawfull spouse, but account all alike, vile and contemptible.

[1] *Honesta, et inhonesta.*

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Both kings, both Armies, make their enterview in an appointed place with equal goodliking: There they plight reciprocall oaths, and Jugurth the more to exasperate the mind of Bocchus by his Oration, tearmeth the Romaines to be an injust people, of insatiable Avarice, a common enemy to al men: That, the same reasons upon which they grounded the pretence of warre against Jugurth, and many other Nations, the same they would inforce for good, against Bocchus, (viz.) their Ambition of Soveraignty. In which their imperious humors, they account all kings their enemies,[1] at this instant, Himselfe: a litle before, the Carthaginians, and king Perses, yea, and heereafter every one as hee groweth by wealth or greatnesse to be a mote in their eyes.

After these speeches, they take their journey towardes Cirtha, for that Quintus Metellus had made that City the seat of the Warre, and therein had bestowed his spoiles, his Prisoners, and the baggage of the Army. His reasons were, first, that if he forced the place, the spoile would prove exceeding profitable; secondly, if Metellus should offer to succour the besieged, then was he sure, both Armies should not part without blowes. For his pollicies did onely aime by celerity to ingage Bocchus, least by delay the King (not yet utterly despairing of peace) might change his minde, and accept of any conditions, rather then of warre.

The Generall understanding of these Combinations, accepteth not rashly of every proffer of fight and place,[2] as oftentimes he had accustomed to do after hee had once overthrowne Jugurth, but fortifying his campe not farre from Cirtha, maketh prooffe of the enemies courage, accounting it more safe (seeing hee had to doe with a newcome Nation) after some triall of the Moorish valour, to fight at pleasure to his best advantage.

By this time he receiveth advertisement, that at Rome

[1] *Quam calida utitur inductione a tribus temporibus: a præterito, per Carthaginenses, a præsenti per se, a futuro, per Bocchum nisi prospexerit.*

[2] *Ad placitum hostis.*

Numidia is fallen by lot to Marius: that hee had attained the Consulship, he had learned long before. The newes whereof so moved him beyond all meane and measure, that he could not forbeare teares, neither (being so worthy a personage, adorned with all other vertues) moderat his tongue, or beare this crosse with manlike behaviour: for which, some scandalized him with pride: others excused him, with replie, that his generous Nature was onely aggreeved at the disgrace; for that the victory now already as good as gained, was injuriously wrested out of his hands.[1] To us, it is sufficiently knowne, that the honour of Marius, more then any conceit of disgrace, disquieted his mind: for if the province had befallen to any man besides, he could have brooked it with requisite patience. CHAPTER XXVII

But however, Metellus stomacking his successor, and acounting it a fond part by indangering himselfe to pleasure another, sendeth Ambassadors to intreat Bocchus, that without cause hee would not shew himselfe an enemie to the Roman people: that at this present he had faire opportunity to renue his suite of alliance, and friendshippe, which at any hand were to be preferred before war. Yea although his abilities might in a manner promise assurance, yet were it not wisdom, to hazard certainties for incertainties. The beginnings of all wars were plausible, but their ends distastfull. They are in no one mans power to begin and end, at pleasure. Even Cowards may take Armes when they please; lay them down, they cannot, but by sufferance of the victor. And therefore he advised him, to bethinke himselfe of his owne, and his kingdoms, safety, rather then to intangle his flourishing and prosperous estate with the desperate courses of Jugurth.

Heereunto the King gave a very curteous reply; That his desire was onely peace: but withall took compassion on the hard estate of Jugurth. If like Overture might bee offered him, without doubt, they should soone compound all controversies. The Generall returneth this aunswere to

[1] *s. Authori.*

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Bocchus; That something he allowed, something he refused. So, in this manner by sending and resending of Messages, time was wasted, and by the cautellous connivency of Metellus the Warre was protracted, and nothing set forward.

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Marius by the meere favour of the people is declared Consull against the minds of the Nobility. And sent into Affrique. His demeanour in the service

Marius by the meere favour of the people is declared Consull against the minds of the Nobility

MARIUS (as we told you before) by the tumultuous and most affectionate assistance of the people, being created Consull, and Numidia also alotted him for his province: If before hee were severe against the Nobility, now was hee much more fierce and incompatible: somtimes wronging them in particular, sometimes in generall. He would often boast, that he carried the Consulship as a spoile from his conquered enemies; many times breathing out high words concerning his owne worth, and to their disgrace. Well, his first cares he turneth to preparations for warre; he requireth new supplies for the Legions: and calleth unto the populer estates, unto kings, and alies, for aids. In Italy, hee sendeth for every valiant gentleman, most, before knowne unto him for their sufficiency, few by report; and amongst them, by faire words [1] and promises he constraineth the cashiered [2] servitors to goe along likewise: Neither durst

[1] *Prece, non imperio.*

[2] *Cum ob senium essent requie et rude donati. Quando legiones explebantur, supplementum dicitur.*

the Senate, although they misliked the precedent, withstand him in any thinge. But with right good will they decreed him supplies, in hope that by forcing the vulgar to service, he should either be deceived in their use, or wholy lose their affections: but the winding up of all fell out far otherwise; so ardent a desire had possessed most men, to accompany Marius, with hopes that they should returne victors, loden with rich spoyles, and military honors.

To these suppositions, the Oration of Marius had added no smal incouragement: for after that all allowances were decreed him, which he could or would demand, he inrolled his souldiers; and aswell to insinuate with the vulgar, as to nettle the Nobility (his accustomed humour) he calleth an assembly of the people: Before whom he reasoned to this, or like purpose:

Marius Oration

I know worthy Romans, that the behaviours of most men far differ in the request and execution of honourable offices. They pretend at first an exterior habite of industry, temperance and humility: But confirmed in authority, passe their time in pride, arrogance and idlenesse. For my part I am of a contrary opinion: for by how much the universall body of this Common wealth is of greater consequence, then either a Consulship, or the dignity of a Prætor: by so much the more ought that to be respectively governed, then this so earnestly desired. Nor am I ignorant, how burdensome a charge I have with your exceeding favour undertaken: as namely, to wage warre, and that, without exhausting your Treasury. To compell even those to beare Armes, unto whom you would by no meanes be offensive: and in a word, to manage the whole affaires of your estate, as well domesticall as forren: The performance whereof, resting amongst so many turbulent, envious and thwarting spirites, Deare Cittizens, is a burthen beyond imagination greevous.

Moreover, whereas the abuses of other magistrats, are perchance countenanced with their titles of Ancient Nobility,

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the prowesse of their Auncestors, power of their allies, or multitude of their retinue: my hope and assurance resteth on my self alone; which I must necessarily maintaine by Vertue and Innocency. For other means are unprofitable. Againe, I know wel, that the eyes of all men are fixed upon me; that good and just men love me, as one whose deeds have tended to the advancement of this Common-wealth: but the Greatest watch opportunity to disgrace me; My uttermost endevors are therefore now to be imployed, that both your expectation may bee satisfied, and they frustrated. I have hetherto from mine infancie voluntarily accustomed my selfe to labour, and exposed my youth to perill: Wherefore being now honoured with so large a recompence, I am not determined to forgo those courses, which before I undertooke unrewarded. Temperance and Authority seldome concurre in those, whom Ambition onely furnisheth with apparances and shadowes of honesty; but in me that have alwaies beene conversant in the best actions, a familiar custom of doing well is become naturall.

By your Commission I am to war with Jugurth: The Nobilitie heereat repine: be therefore well advised, whether it be meet to alter your determination, or not: and from out this confused heape of Gentry, to commit the direction of these and such like businesses, to some one or other of auncient race, and many glorious discents, but no experience; to the end, that thorough ignorance and weaknesse hee may tremble under the waight of so great a charge; and be enforced to entertain any meane fellowe to instruct him in his Office. By which it often falleth out, that he whom you have made a Commander, shall himselfe be subject to the command of another.

I know there are many that even after they are made Consuls, begin first to peruse the monuments of their predecessors, and to read the military preceptes of the Græcian discipline. But these preposterously pervert all order; since the knowledge how to governe ought to precede the practise of government: Now therefore (worthy Romaines) compare me, scarce yet a Gentleman, with their

presumptuous and proud arrogancie: what they have either heard or read, I have partly seene, partly put in execution, and what they from written volumes have gathered, I have abroad in warfare purchased by experience. Bee you then Judges, whether is of greater valew: deedes or wordes? The obscurity of my birth is to them contemptible: to me, their Cowardice: they upbraid me, with fortune, I them, with dishonesty. It is true, we are all sprung from one and the same Universall Nature, yet the most valiant ought to be reputed the most generous and noble. If the Fathers of Albinus or Calphurnius Bestia, were now to be demanded, whether they had rather have had children like me, or those, What should we conceit, would have bin their answere? doubtles to have had the woorthiest. So that by embasing mee, they likewise traduce the worth of their own Ancestors, whose first Nobility like mine was originally derived from their owne vertues. They envy my promotion, let them likewise envy my labours, mine innocency and my daungers, for by these was I first raised. But men transported with Pride and selfe-conceite so live, as if they disdained your dignities, and yet so desire them, as if they were men of a most sincere and uncorrupted integrity. But their hopes beguil them, and vainly they expect the fruition of a most manifest Contrariety, the pleasure of sloth, and the meed of Vertue. Moreover, in publick assemblies, either before you or the Senate, their Orations are for the most part ful fraught with the glorie of their forefathers, imagining that something may be added to their owne worths by the Narration of their exploites; when contrarily, by howe much the more their Vertues surmounted others, by so much the more base are these their degenerate and sluggish off-spring. For noble Ancestry is as a light shining on posteritie, which exposeth all their actions, whether good or bad to the interpretation and survey of the worlde. In these matters albeit I am needy, yet, which is far more rich and honorable, I may justly boast of mine owne deeds. But behold their partialitie; they allow me not that respect for mine owne vertues, which themselves (unjust usurpers) arrogate for other mens. And why? My

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Galleries are not beset with statues, my Gentilitie is yet but sprouting, which truly in me is more worthy to have begun, then in them to have defaced what was hereditary.

I doubt not but if they were to answer me, you should finde them abounding with adornate elegancy of speeche, and well composed Orations: yet since they never cease, to vomit the poison of their toongs, both against you (worthy Romans) and my selfe, for these dignities bestowed upon me, I list no longer to refraine, least modesty and silence argue a guilty conscience: For mine owne part, their slaunders hurt me not, since necessity shall compell them to speak the truth, when as the uprightnesse of my life and conversation shall confute their falsehoodes.

But, insomuch as they have taxed your Counsels and Decrees, in authorizing me, for the dispatch of so great a businesse, be ye therefore thorowly advised, whether ye shall ever have cause to repent your selves of this appointment. I confesse I am not able to alleadge (as witnesses of my desert) eyther a long drawne pedigree, tryumphall Chariots, or the Consulships of my progenitors; But if need were, of Speares, Ensignes, Barbes for Horses, and other such like rewardes and ornaments of Chivalry; to which, if ye also adde, a body mangled with scarres and woundes, I could produce aboundance. These are my Atchievments; This my Nobility, not lineallie descending by course of inheritance, but with industry, sweat, and the expence of much bloud, atchived.

My speeches are not well featured, I want Eloquence, but I reguard it not: my vertue is sufficient to shew it selfe: onely their shamefull actions require the coverture of glosing phrases. I understand not the Grecians, nor am I able to spel their characters! In truth I desire it not: sithence the knowledge thereof hath towards the purchase of vertue, so little availed her professors. But in that which more advantageth our estate; To assaile the Enemy, to chase their Garisons, to bee affrighted onely with infamy, to lie hard, and finally with equall patience to endure Heate, Colde, Hunger, thirst and travayle; herein I am expert: with these rudiments will I instruct my souldiers, without eyther austere

usage towardes them, or daintinesse in my selfe, nor by their labours ayming onely at the advauncement of mine owne peculiar credite or reputation.

These rules are profitable, and establish a right civill government; but whereas effeminate men, are themselves couched and nuzled in soft delicacie, yet rigorously intreat their souldiers, they are rather maisters than Captaines. Their worthie Auncestors of famous memory, have onely by those meanes before recited, enobled both themselves and their Countries, whom whilst we endevour to trace in those steppes of honour, these their succeeding issues, unlike in conditions, onely confident in the merits of their ancestors, contemn our proceedings, as reputing all Offices of command due onely to their birthes, nothing to deserts. But (proud men) they are farre deceived: for albeit their fathers gave them wealth, left them Crestes, and their undying memories, yet vertue, which may neither be given or taken, they were unable to bequeath unto them. Amongst these men I am esteemed barbarous and uncivill, because I affect not their neat fashion of banquetting, maintaine not a stage player, or some ridiculous Zannie; keep not a more exquisite Cooke, and such like: All which I am wel pleased to acknowledge. For I have often heard my father, and other honest men say, that curiosity is meete for a woman, but labour for a man, and unto generous and heroycall minds, renowne is more valewable then wealth, and Armes a more beseeming Ornament, then houshold furniture.

But let them proceed: That which pleaseth them, that which they so highly fancy, let them alwaies followe. Let them Lust, Drinke, Feast, and ryot, and having thus spent their youth, so likewise let their old age be as dissolute; devoted to banquets, bellycheare, and most beastly sensuality: As for sweat, industry and toile, let them be shared amongst us, unto whom they are farre more delectable, then all their choise varietie of Junkets.

But alas it will not be, for these unwoorthy, and vile people, thus tainted with villany, thus dishonested with basenes, are yet most forward to assume unto themselves those rewards,

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which are onely proper to the wel-deserving: such (most unjustly) is the propriety of those vices, Sloth and Luxury, that they endamage onely the Commonwealth, not their professors.

So then, having as farre forth, as my modestie, though not the heynousnesse of their abuses, might permit me, briefely answered unto your Nobility, I will now speake a few words touching our present imployment. And first, deare Romans, bee ye all confident in the affaires of Numidia: for yee have now removed those Obstacles which before were advantages unto Jugurth; Pride, Avarice, and Ignorance: Moreover ye have there an Army that know wel the Country: But in truth I esteeme them more valiaunt then fortunate; For the most part of them have bin cut off by the Avarice and inconsiderate rashnesse of their Commanders. Wherefore, all yee, whose able bodies may brooke the warres, nowe enforce your selves with me, that our joynt endevours may labour in the defence of our Common-wealth: nor let your courage droope, either for the miseries of other men, or foolish Pride of their Captaines, my selfe will be your guid, and in all your Marches, and in everie battell, will be both a Counsellor and a Companion unto you, my government equally extending to you as to my selfe, without regard of difference: so that heavens assisting our enterprise, we shal not faile of speedie victorie, faire honour, and wealthy booties. Which albeit they may rest doubtfull and remote, yet it becommeth good men, even in regard of common honestie to assist their Countrie. Sloth never purchased immortalitie, neither do fathers pray that their children might live for ever, but live honestly. More I woulde say, if wordes could encourage Cowards: To the valourous I have spoken sufficient.

Marius having finished this Oration and heereby perceiving the minds of the Comminalty erected, forthwith caused ships to be laden, with Victuals, Treasure, munition, and other necessaries. With these hee commaundeth Aulus Manlius his Lieutenant to set forward, mean while himselfe raised men, not according to the ancient custom,

nor out of the degrees and rankes of people (as was used by his predecessors) but according to every mans good will and liking; men for the most part (by reason of their poverty) exempted from contribution to publicke taxations: The which some imputed to the want of other sufficient souldiers, others to the ambition of the Consul, who by such kind of people had been most advanced and magnified: For to an aspiring spirit, the most needy persons are the most fit intruments, as beeing such that have no care of their owne, because they have nothing, and in that regard esteeme all things honest that savour of profit. Marius therefore accompanied with a greater number then was decreed him, went into Affrica, and in few dayes arrived at Utica: Where the Army was delivered uppe unto him by P. Rutilius the Lieutenant. For Metellus would by no meanes brooke the presence of Marius, unwilling to see, what in his heart hee could not endure to heare. But the Consull Marius having supplyed his Legions and auxiliary Cohorts, with bandes of succour, led his army into a fruitfull Country, stored with rich preyes and booties, and bestowed the pillage thereof upon his soldiers. This done, he assaulted such Castles and Townes, as both for theyr scituation and strength of men, were least able to make defence: In other places likewise he had many battailes and light skirmishes: In the mean while his newe souldiers began to grow hardy, and to enter into fight without any feare of perill, as wel perceiving that all such as fled, were either slain or taken captives: that every mans assurance of safety rested in his strength and sufficience: that upon Armes and prowesse their welfare depended: That theyr Liberty, their Country, their Kindred, and whatsoever they had, consisted heerein: and finally, that this was the way to acquire glory and riches. By reason whereof, in short space, both new and old alike grew valourous, and their vertues became equall. CHAPTER XXVIII

But the two Kings advertised of the approach of Marius, deviding their Army, severally departed unto the most

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unaccessable and difficult places, which was done by the advise of Jugurth, hoping by these meanes that the Roman Army, scattering it selfe and stragling abroade, might the more easily be invaded, and that they like the most part of men, secure and void of feare, would become the more improvident and lesse circumspect.

Metellus in this meane season arrived at Rome; where, contrary to his expectation, he was joyfully welcommed by the Romans, and after the envy raised against him was overblowne, was alike held deare unto the people, and the Senate.

CHAPTER XXIX

1. Marius in sundry small bikeringes distresseth Jugurth and Bocchus. 2. Altereth the course of the war. 3. And without losse taketh and sacketh Capsa. 4. His praises

Marius in sundry small bikeringes distresseth Jugurth and Bocchus

UT Marius like a prudent and industrious Captaine, had an eie both on his owne Army and his enemies: he wel perceived what most advantaged or disadvantaged the one or other side: he set spies to observe what waies the kings tooke, and overreached all their counsels and stratagems: he suffered nothing to bee slacke or unprovided on his part, or any thing to remaine safe and secure to the other side. By reason whereof, many times on his way hee charged and defeated Jugurth, and the Getulians as he found them forraging and spoiling our confederates, and not far from the Town of Cirtha forced the King himself to leave his armes behind him.

Altereth the course of the war

2. But at length perceiving, that these exploits were only glorious, and no way furthered him to force Jugurth to battaile, whereby at one blow he might impose an ende

unto these lingering warres, he determined to besiege all such Townes, as either for strength of men or natural defence, were of greatest importance and succor to the enemy, and contrarily most prejudiciall to the Romans: Imagining, that Jugurth, if he endured this, should bee debarred of his strongest forts and places of refuge, or at least, be heerby provoked to a pitcht battel. For Bocchus by sundry Messengers had before signified unto Marius, that for his part he was desirous of amitie and friendship with the Romans, and that he should not feare him as an enemy. CHAPTER XXIX

But whether he dissembled heerin, to the end, that surprising the Romans unawars, he might give them the greater blowe, or whether through the inconstancy and instability of his mind, it was usuall with him to change war for peace, it is uncertaine.

But the Consull proceeding in his former resolution, began to assault townes and fortified castels; some whereof he tooke by force, some through fear, and others by promise of reward and bounty: at first he dealt with the smaller sort, supposing that Jugurth would for their defence be drawn to a battaile: but receiving intelligence, that he was gone far off, and imployed in other affaires, he thought it high time to attempt matters of greater consequence, and more difficulty.

3. There was a Towne large and strong, scituate in the vast and wilde desertes, named Capsa: of which Hercules Lybius was said to be the first founder. The Inhabitants hereof, under the government of Jugurth, were gently and peaceably ruled, free from tribute, and in that regard remained most firme and true unto him. And without losse taketh and sacketh Capsa

They were furnished against forraine invasion, not onely with walles, Armes, and Men, but which was much more, by the difficulty of the place and scituation. For excepting those fieldes that lay neere unto the Towne, all the Region about, was wilde, desert, and unmannured; wanting Water, and anoyed with Serpentes, who (as all other wilde beastes) become enraged for want of meate. Moreover,

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the mischievous Nature of those Serpents, is by nothing more than by drought provoked.

Marius was marvailously enflamed with a desire to take this Towne, as well for the service of the Warre, as for that it seemed a very hard and difficult enterprise, and partly for that Metellus had formerly with great applause taken the Towne of Thala, not much unlike this place, eyther for scituation or defence: Onely the difference was, that not farre from the Walles of Thala were certaine Springes and Fountaines; whereas the Capsians had but one continuall water-spring, and that within their wals: those without using no other then rain-water, which both there, and in all other places of Affrique, remote from the Sea, that are wilde and desert, is the more easily endured, for that the Numidians for the most part feede on Milke, and the flesh of savage beasts: desiring neyther Salt, nor other Sawce to whet their stomackes, as having provision sufficient to appease hunger and thirst, but not for superfluity or daintinesse.

The Consull therefore, having enquired the truth of these matters, becam confident, I think, on the help of the gods. For it was impossible he shuld either in wit or policy have beene sufficiently provided to encounter so many difficulties, especially having there but small store of Corne (for as much as the Numidians imploy their grounds rather in pasture then tillage) and that quantity which they had, was by the Commandement of their king conveied into their strong holds. Their fields were also dry and barren without fruit, it being then the latter end of Summer: Howbeit, Marius made sufficient provision as his ocasions required. Hee committed to his auxiliary troopes of horse the convoy of such Cattle, as formerly he had taken from the enemy, and sent his Lieutenant Aulus Manlius with his lightest armed Cohorts to the Towne of Laris, where he had layed in his souldiers pay, and victuals: alledging that hee himselfe would go a forraging, and within fewe daies meet him there.

Thus concealing his purpose, he led his army toward

the River Tanais : and made daily in his journies equall and ratable distribution of his Cattle amongst his Army, as they were devided by hundreds, and troopes of thirties, or other small companies : taking order that of the hides of those beasts, should bee made vessels for the cariage of Water : And moreover (no man knowing his pretence) he provided such store of Corne and other necessaries as shortly should be requisite for his entended enterprize. In a word, on the sixt day arriving at the river, he had a great number of those vessels made of the hides of beasts : There pitching his Tents slightly fortified, he commaunded his souldiers to take their repast, and be ready to depart by the setting of the Sunne ; willing them further to leave all their baggage behinde, and charge their carriages onelie with water.

At length when he saw his time, he departed from his Tents, and travelling all that night, rested on the morning with his Army : The like he did the second night, and the third night, long before day, hee arrived at a place full of Hillocks, not above two miles distant from the Town of Capsa, where, as covertly as he could, he ambushed his army. But the day approching, and a great part of the Numidians not mistrusting any enemy, being issued out of the Towne, Marius suddenly caused all his Horse, and with those, his lightest foot-men to make hast, and seize upon the gates of the Citty : Immediately himselfe followed, giving expresse charge to his Souldiers to refraine from pillage. Which when the Towns-men perceived, their estate standing on such dangerous tearms, extreame fear, a mischiefe so unlooked for, and moreover, a great part of their fellow-cittizens surprized, and in the power of their enemies, moved them to yeeld the town to Marius. Foorthwith the Citty was fired, all of the age of fourteene yeares and upwardes put to the Sword, the rest sold, and the prey devided amongest the Souldiers. Which injurious acte, contrary to the Law of armes, was not committed either for avarice, or barbarous cruelty in the Consull, but because the place was most commodious for Jugurth, and

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His praises

almost unaccessable to the Romans: Moreover, they were a kind of people inconstant and faithlesse, and in former times could not be contained in obedience, neither through fear or favor. 4. Marius having so speedily finished so great an enterprise, without any losse of his own, albeit he was renowned before, yet now began to be of greater fame and estimation: now al his designes and projects, as well such as were put in execution through good advise, as such also as inconsiderately and by chance were adventured, were ascribed wholly to his vertue and pollicy: His Souldiers over whom he mildely commanded, being likewise inriched by these services, extolled his name to the heavens, and the Numidians feared him, as if he had bin more then mortall. Finally, as well his companions as his enemies, were of opinion, that hee had either a divine understanding, or at least, that by the Goddes appointment, the events of his enterprises were revealed unto him.

CHAPTER XXX

1. The fortunate surprising of a strong Castle by a strange adventure. 2. An honorable testimony of Sillaes worthinesse

The fortunate surprising of a strong Castle by a strange adventure

BUT these matters having thus fortunately succeeded, the Consull sets forward to other Townes, some few whereof he tooke by force, the Numidians resisting; but the greater number were abandoned and left desolate by reason of the former calamities of the Capsians destroyed by fire: every place was filled with griefe and slaughter. At length, having gained many places, and those for the most part, without losse of any Roman bloud, he undertooke another exploit, not altogither so toilsome

as was that of the Capsians, yet no lesse difficult. Not farre from the River of Mulucha, that devides the kingdome of Jugurth and Bocchus, there is a rocke or stony mountayne in the midst of a plaine, whereon was scituated a rude castle, large enough, but of an incredible height, having one only narrow entrance into it: The discent of this rocke was naturally so steepe, as if purposely it had been so built by the hands of workmen; Marius with all his endevours intended to force this Castle, for that the Kinges treasure lay there, which he effected, (but rather by chaunce than cunning) for in the Castle was sufficient provision, both of men, munition and corne, as also a spring of water. CHAPTER XXX

Moreover, the scituation thereof was such, as by no meanes was assaultable, eyther by Mounts, Towers, Turrets, or other warlike Engines, the entry thereinto being very narrow, traversed and cut on both sides: Our approches also were made to no purpose, and with great perril, for as they came neere the wall, they were beaten downe and destroyed with fire and stones; So as the Souldiers could neither performe their workes for the steepnesse of the place, nor serve without perill in their approches: The valiantest were either slaine or wounded, and feare augmented in the rest.

But Marius after many daies, and much labour, with great pensivenesse pondered with himselfe, whether hee should forgo this enterprize, wherein he seemed to labour in vaine, or attend his fortune, which had oft times prooved succesfull unto him: These things having many daies and nights revolved in his mind, it fell out that a certaine Ligurian, a common souldier of his auxiliary cohorts, by chance comming to a water not farre from that side of the Castle, which was opposite to the besiegers, found certaine Periwinckles creeping among the stones: wherof when hee had taken up first one, then another, and so sought others, was by this desire of gathering more, by little and little brought up to the toppe of the Mountaine: where seeing the coast cleare and void of people, foorthwith (according to the condition of men) a desire of

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exploiting great matters entred into his conceit. There grew in the same place a great Holme-tree amongst the stones, being a little bended downe towards the ground, and forthwith winding upward (as is the Nature of all Vegitalles) and shooting it selfe on high towards the top of the Castle: by the helpe whereof, the Ligurian somtimes taking holde on the armes thereof, sometimes on the outmost stones of the wall, climbed to the top, where undiscerned of any, he descried the whole plaine of the Castle, for that the Numidians were then absent, busily imployed in fight against the besiegers. The souldier having searched and spyed out all things which he thought needfull, returned the same way hee came, not rashly as hee ascended, but with great regard and caution. Forthwith he retired to Marius, declaring what hee had done, and advised him to attempt the Castle on that side, from whence he had discended, offering himselfe for a guid, and alledging that there was no hazard or perril in the enterprise. Marius forthwith commanded such as were then present to go with the Ligurian, to try the truth of this information: who returning made divers reports thereof, every man according to his fancy, some esteeming it to be an easie, some a difficult enterprise. But the Consull began to be of better cheare, and forthwith out of his number of Trumpiters and Cornets he selected five, the most nimble and light amongest them, and withall foure Centurions for their aide and succour: All which he willed to be at the commaund of the Ligurian, whom hee appointed the next day for the execution of this service, who at the time limited, according to his commandement, having prepared and ordred all things necessary, repaired unto the said place.

The Centurions by the direction of their guid, changed both their armes and apparel, and went with their heads and feet bare, to the end that they might the better see about them, and climb with more steadinesse. Their swords as also their Targets (which according to the Numidian fashion were made of Leather, as well for their lightnes, as for that in their clashing together they made

the least noise) were fastned at their backs. The Ligurian then climbing up before the rest, tyed cords unto such stones, and olde rootes, as hung out beyond the rest of the wall, that the souldiers taking holde thereon, might the more easily ascend: such as were fearefull thorough the strangenesse of the way, he holpe up with his handes, and where the ascent was steepest, hee caused them to climbe unarmed, himselfe following with their armor. Such places as to the eie seemed most dangerous, himselfe chieflie assayed: ascending, descending, and going forwards, encouraging the rest to follow. At length, but late and sore wearied, they became Maisters of the Castle, which on that side was left unregarded, for that those of the castle were then, as at other times imployed in fight against their enemies. CHAPTER XXX

Marius having by Messengers understood what the Ligurian had done, albeit he had all that day entertained fight with the Numidians, yet then encouraging his souldiers, issued out from his defenses, and with Engines approached the Walles, threatning them also aloofe with slings, Artillery, and other Ordinance. But the Numidians having formerly broken downe and burnt the approches of the Romans, contained not themselves within the wals of the Castle, but day and night passed to and fro on the outside thereof, rayling at the Romans and reproching Marius with cowardice; menacing our souldiers to make them bond-slaves unto Jugurth, and by meanes of theyr good fortune grew fierce and insolent.

But now as the Romans and Numidians were in earnest conflict, each encountring other with great violence, these fighting for glory and Empire, they for their lives and safeties; the Ligurian on the sudden sounded an allarme at their backs, whereat, first ran away the women and children, that were placed to behold the battell; next, such as were nearest unto the walles, and lastly the whole company, aswell armed as disarmed, betook themselves to flight: The which so chancing, the Romans began to charge the more furiously; they slew and wounded divers, and

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trampling on their dead bodies, enforced themselves to ascend the wall. Thus Fortune still favoured the overweening rashnesse of Marius, and in his owne error, he found glory.

An honorable testimony of Sillaes worthinesse

2. These passages thus depending, meane time Lucius Silla the Questor arrived in the Campe, with a great troop of Horse. He had beene left behinde in Rome, to raise an Army of Latines and Allies their confederates; But forso-much as we are now fallen into discourse of so renowned a man, it will not be amisse to treat somewhat of his Nature and conditions, for hence-forward we shall have no occasion to speake of his actions: and Lucius Sisenna, who of all others that have written of him, hath with greatest dilligence, and most faith pursued the History, seemeth to me, not to have spoken liberally and freely enough of his worthinesse.

Silla then was nobly descended from the race of a Patrician, but his Gentry was almost extinct and worne out by the sloth of his auncestors. He was alike and excellently learned, both in Greeke and Latine; of a haughty courage, addicted to his pleasures, but more to glory: his vacant howers were spent in Luxury, yet pleasure never hindred his affayres: Only he might have better advised him selfe in the choice of a more honest wife. He was eloquent, subtile, sociable, and in dissembling or disguising his intents, the depth of his wit was incredible. He was liberal in guifts, chiefly of his money: and before the civill Conquest (albeit he was the most happie of all others) yet fortune never exceeded his industry, insomuch as many doubted, whether he was more vertuous or fortunate: But for his latter actions, I am uncertaine whether it wil more shame or grieve me to repeat them.

Then as is before said, when he came with his troope of horse into Affricke, and the campe of Marius (being before a novice and unexperienced in the warres) in a short season with fewe bickerings, became the most cunning and expert leader amongst the Romans. Moreover, he would kindly entreate his souldiers, give liberally to such as

demanded, as also voluntary to others : he could hardly bee drawne to take any thing ; but more ready to returne it with recompence, then to pay a just debt. He never redemanded any thing lent, but rather endevoured to have as many as he could, remaine his debtors. His fashion was to discourse both pleasantly and seriously, with the basest and men of meanest ranke, and would very often bee amongst them in their labours, their marches, and theyr watchings, neither in the meane while (as lewd ambition is accustomed) would he with slanders wound the honor and reputation, either of the Consull, or any other. In direction or execution he suffred no man to go beyond him, but heerein himselfe excelled the most part : and by these meanes in a short space, hee became indeared both unto Marius and the souldiers.

CHAPTER XXXI

Bocchus joyneth with Jugurth, assaulteth Marius upon the sodaine, and is notwithstanding defeated

BUT to returne where wee left, Jugurth having lost the Towne of Capsa, and other fortified places of importance, as also great store of Treasure ; dispatched messengers unto Bocchus, signifying that he should forthwith bring his forces into Numidia ; That the season of the year summoned to field.

Bocchus joyneth with Jugurth, assaulteth Marius upon the sodaine, and is notwithstanding defeated

But hearing that the King made small hast, and stood doubtfull betweene the events of peace and warre, once againe, as before, he corrupteth with presents the greatest and nearest persons about Bocchus : promising the King

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for his share, the third part of Numidia, if either the Romans were cleane expulsed Affricke; or the warre compounded without diminution of his Patrimony.

Bocchus being caught with so golden a bait, commeth unto Jugurth with a worlde of people. When joyning both their armies (the tenth part of the day yet scarce remaining) they charge Marius, as he journied towardes his Winter stations: forecasting that the approach of the night, in case they were overthrowne, would stand them in great stead; but if they fortuned to have the better, it would prove to them no disadvantage, for that they were well acquainted with the waies: But contrarily, however the world went, the darke night would proove very troublesome unto the Roman Army.[1]

No sooner had the Consull notice of the enemies approach, but the enemy was discovered to followe him at the heeles: And before the battaile could bee ranged, the luggage discharged and secured, the signall given, or any order taken; the Moorish and Getulian Horsemen had charged our people: not in order and warlike maner, but by troopes and scattering companies, at adventure.

The souldiers at first, beeing thus taken unprovided, stood amazed, but now calling to mind their wonted valour, did eyther betake them to their weapons, or defended others against the insulting enemy, whilst they ran to arme. The horsemen gat to horse, and did what they could to stay the enemies course. The fight rather resembled an incursion, then a battell. The footmen without Ensignes or rankes were mixt amongst the Horse; Some ran away, some were slaine, some making obstinate resistance were circumvented behinde, by the enemy: neither valour nor steele could warrant life, the enemy pressed so fast on with inequality of numbers, and dispersion on all quarters. For remedy whereof, the old and new Roman souldiers instructing one another, had no other shift, then as place or chance directed them, to cast themselves into an Orbe, or circle; whereby

[1] *Quia ignari essent Locarum.*

being covered and prepared upon al sides, they inabled themselves to sustaine the enemies fury.

At this hard bargaine, Marius shewed no more token of a fearefull or dejected spirit, then at another season;[1] but with his owne company, which he had culled (not out of his favourites and familiars, but of choisest fellowes) hee scoureth up and downe the field: sometimes releeving his wearied people, sometimes charging in upon the thickest troopes of his enemie: sometime giving his advice: for command he could not[2] in so generall a confusion.

The day by this time was well nigh spent, yet the barbarous people slackned nothing of their fury, but by the Kings perswasions, relying uppon the advantages of the night, seemed to presse on with fresher courages.

But Marius, taking Counsel upon necessity, commandeth his souldiers to retire unto two hilles nearely adjoyning. Upon the one, hardly of sufficient capacity to pitch their Tents, was a large Fountaine of Water; the other was more advantagious, by reason of his eminencie, and some naturall fortifications. Upon that with the Water, he commaundeth Silla with the horsemen to keepe good watch all that night: himselfe by some and some, withdraweth his dispersed souldiers in troopes from amongst their enemies, in no lesse confusion, then themselves. This done, with a ful march he retireth them al unto the aforesaid hill.

The Kings being discouraged by the difficultie of the place, sound likewise the retrait, and suffer not their souldiers to lodge far from the place, but environing the hils with multitudes, confusedly sette them downe. Then making many fires after their barbarous custome, al night long they begin to make merry, to daunce, and with their feet and voyces to stir up strange noises. The kings themselves grew proud, either for that the Romans coulde not put them to flight, or for that they accounted the victorie in sure possession. These passages by reason of

[1] *Hinc dignoscitur quanti momenti sit dux validus in exercitu.*
[2] *s. manu, aut alio signo.*

CHAPTER XXXI

the darknesse, and the eminency of the hil, were very discernable to the Romans, and gave them no small encouragements to hope for victory.[1]

For Marius being very confident, uppon the rawnesse of the enemy, giveth a strict commaund for keeping of silence all the night; so farre forth, as not to sound the trumpet according to custome, at the setting or relieving of the watch. Then upon the approach of the dawning (the Enemy being now weary, and not long before overtaken with sleepe) Marius willeth the Mercinary Trumpeters, and the Drummes of all the Cohorts, winges and Legions, uppon the sodaine to sound, as also the Souldiers violently to rush out of the Ports of the campe, with the greatest clamour that they possibly could raise.

The Moores and Getuli being suddenly awaked with the unknowne and terrible allarme, had neither stomach to fly, nor to fight, nor were able to resolve what to do, or what to prevent: insomuch as the whole rable stood astonished at the noise and clamor, as men frayed out of their wits, not one offering to relieve his fellow, although the Romans fiercely pressed in with tumult, terrour and slaughter. So the whole Army was quickly rowted and disperst, and much armour with many Ensignes taken: yea, more were slaine in this conflict, then in all the former battails. For they were so heavy asleepe, and stood amazed with such an unusuall extasie, that they had not so much memory left them, as to provide for flight.

[1] *Qui in tenebris sunt, vident q. fiunt in luce, et non ipsi videntur.*

WARRE OF JUGURTH

CHAPTER XXXII

A Precedent for Commanders not to march carelesse, uppon any termes of security, in the Enemie-countrey

AFTER this defeature, Marius (as hee had determined) journieth towards his Winter stations, and for the conveniency of provision, mindeth to billet his companies in the maritime Burroughs. And taking never the more ease, nor yet become forgetfull of his affayres, by reason of his late victory, marcheth in a square battell, as if he had beene in the face of his enemy.

A Precedent for Commanders not to march carelesse, uppon any termes of security, in the Enemie-countrey

Upon the right hand Silla commanded over the horsemen ; upon the left, marched A. Manlius with the Slings, Archers, and the Cohorts of the Ligurians. In front and Reare, he placed the Tribunes, with the readiest and light armed companies. The Fugitives that best knew the cuntrey, were employed to discover the enemies march.

The Consull confined to no place, had an eie to all : was present with all : commended the valiant, and blamed the coward. Himselfe rode armed, and at all assayes he ordred the souldiers as he used to do in ordinary travaile : he saw to the fortifieing of the campe, and himselfe in person placed selected Cohorts out of the Legions toward within the Ports : and without, the auxiliary horsemen.

In the bastils upon the rampart he would appoint others, and himself go the round ; not upon diffidence that his commands intrusted to others, wold be the insufficienter executed, but that the Souldier seeing his General to share in labor, might undergo the like with more willing courage.

CHAPTER XXXII

To speak uprightly, Marius both at this season, and at other times of his War, awed his army more by example, then by severity. Which some men attribute to Pride; others by extenuation excused him: That beeing from his Cradle inured to hardnesse, hee tooke delight in that, which others accounted misery; but howsoever, surely he discharged his duety with as great honour and glory to the state, as ever did the severest Commander of the state.

Upon the fourth day, the light-mounted vant-currers of Jugurth, shew themselves in troops, not farre from the Towne Cirtha; An alarum is given, that the enemy is not far off. Marius sendeth out his Scouts; all agree, but differ upon the side of approch. Whereupon the Consull being incertaine how to provide, without any alteration of his former imbatteling, being prepared for all adventures, resolveth in that place to receive the enemy.

By this forme of fight, the hopes of Jugurth were utterly frustrated; for by dividing his battallion into four parts, he made an account, with one half to have charged in the face, with the other halfe, equally divided, to have come upon the backs of the Romans.

Silla, whom the enemy first attacked, using some few words to his followers, taking certaine troops unto him, with their Horses as close ranged as they possibly could, receiveth the Moores; The residue standing fast in theyr places, cover their bodies from the enemies shot, and if any chance to fall within reach, they presently sley him.

Whilst the Horsemen on this fashion charge, and are charged, Bocchus with the footmen (whom his Son Volux led, and were not at the last rout, for their delay upon the way) invadeth the rereward of the Romans.

At that instant Marius chanced to be in the head of the battaile, because Jugurth with a great company layd hard charge thereunto. The Numidian perceiving that Bocchus had now charged in the reare, privily retiring with some few horsemen unto the footmen, crieth out in Latine (the Language he had learned at Numantia) that the Romains

resisted in vaine; and that but even now with his own hands he had slaine the Consul: And therewithall lifted uppe his sword, as yet reeking in blood, which in truth by the slaughter of one of our footmen with sufficient proofe of valiancy, he had so stained in fight. The Romans receiving the word, were more astonished at the cruelty of the fact, then the relation of the reporter:[1] and the Barbarians doubling their courages, gave in more lustily to augment the terror. Now stood the footmen wavering, when Silla (returning from the flight of those whom he first charged) chargeth in upon the flank of the Moores. Bocchus forthwith turneth taile: but Jugurth performing all the parts of a valiant captain in relieving his distressed followers, by al means laboreth to retaine the advantage of a victory almost gained; untill such time, as beeing incircled in the thickest of the horsmen, and his followers on each hand slaine, he himselfe made his escape through the weapons of his enemies. By this time Marius likewise having routed the horsmen, runneth to the aide of his people, but by the way receiveth newes of their flight. Thus was the enemy utterly broken, and a most hideous spectacle presented through the whole field. Some pursued, some fled; some were slaine, some taken: horse and men lay promiscuously mingled in one anothers gore: Many being wounded could neither fly, nor procure helpe: now they strived, presently they fell down and fainted. Surely, as far as sight could view, the field was covered with weapons, armours, and carkasses: the Earth, with blood.[2]

CHAPTER XXXII

[1] *Quam necessarium sit rebus bellicis intentos, Historias legere, hinc apparet: nam unius voce mendacis, parum abfuerit quin qui victores erant, vincerentur.*

[2] *Graphica descriptio Belli, fugæ cedis.*

CHAPTER XXXIII

Bocchus relenteth, harkeneth to peace, and againe wavereth

Bocchus relenteth, harkeneth to peace, and againe wavereth

BY this time the Consull being in full possession of victory, arriveth at Cirtha, the place of his first determined progres. The 5. day, after his second and unfortunat fight of the Barbarians, Embassadors are hether dispatched from Bocchus: who in the king their masters name desire of the Generall, that he would vouchsafe to send over unto him two most sufficient Commissioners, to treat of those Articles which should concerne their mutuall safety, and welfare. The Generall forthwith commandeth L. Silla and Aulus Manlius to prepare for the journey.

These Gentlemen, though they came before his presence by message,[1] yet they deemed it their fittest course, first to offer parle; upon intention, that if they found his disposition addicted unto further hazard, they might take occasion, to lenifie his courage; but if desirous of peace, that then they might proceede, to confirme it with fervencie. Whereupon Silla (unto whose perswasive eloquence, not to age, nor due of precedency, Manlius submitted) thus began a short Oration.

Sillas Oration

Noble King Bocchus, the comfort that we have taken, to see so worthy a personage, no doubt (not without the speciall direction of heaven) nowe at last, not onely to make choise of

[1] *Et ideo audituri, quid ipse vellet.*

peace, rather then War; but also to free himself from the protection of Jugurth, of all men living the worst, and most miserable:[1] *hath in no small measure bin pleasing unto us. For heerby thou hast utterly bereaved us of an inevitable necessity, as severely to chastice thy errors,*[2] *as his Treason and disloialtie.*

Noble Lord, even in the infancie of the Roman state, being as then but weake and obscure, our Forefathers made choise to acquire friends, rather then to subdue slaves, holding it a principle in policie, that greater benefittes accrued from free will, then from forced subjection.[3]

Our favours can prove to no mortall creature more availe able, then to your selfe: first, for that wee are farre remote:[4] *wherein consisteth least opportunity of offence: and yet in our bountie may become as indifferent, as if wee were nearest neighbours.*

Secondly, for that we abound in Subjects:[5] *And yet I must confesse, that neither wee, nor any man living, can boast to have found more friends then he needed.*

I would to God your Majesty had apprehended this in the beginning: then surely by this time, you had not failed to have reaped farre more pleasures from the Roman people, then hitherto you have suffered damages.

But because Fortune sitteth Lady Regent of all humane projects, whose fancy forsooth it hath beene, that you shoulde make tryall aswell of our force, as of our favour: Now, for that she hath offered the meanes,[6] *I beseech you, make hast to embrace it, and give not over, to perfect these your good overtures.*

In your power[7] *consist many kind offices, by which to good purpose you may redeeme all fore-passed misprisions.*

[1] *Unde regem attentum faciat, cum admoneat quanti periculi sit cum homine sæpius victo commisceri.*
[2] *q.d. deceptum ab eo.*
[3] *Nullum violentum diuturnum.*
[4] *Qui enim longè absunt oneribus et exactionibus Curiæ minus gravantur.*
[5] *Viz.: Carthaginenses, Macedones, et alios.*
[6] *Ad gratiam populi Romani ineundam.*
[7] *Tacitè innuit, quod postea petiturus est s. ut Jugurtham tradat.*

CHAPTER XXXIII

Lastly, closet up this my counsell with deepest confidence,[1] *That the Roman people were never over-ballanced in remuneration of thankfull services: what their valour is in war,*[2] *your selfe can make best report.*

The answere of Bocchus

Hereunto Bocchus in extenuation of his oversights maketh a short, but a plausible reply: That hee made choice of Armes, not uppon any fancy that might move him to make triall of warre, but only to secure the kingdome, which now after the expulsion of Jugurth,[3] being by the law of conquest divolved unto him, he could not brooke to see harried by Marius. Secondly, he complained of the disgrace, and refusall of his friendship, offred unto the Romans in former time, by his Ambassadors. But hee was content, now to silence old greevances, and promised againe to send his people in embassie to Rome, so it might stand with Marius his good liking.

Wherupon, leave being granted, the mind of the Barbarian became againe distasted, by the mediation of those his followers, whom Jugurth, uppon intelligence of the embassie of Silla and Manlius, and distrust of that, which in truth was intended,[4] had already corrupted by guiftes and bribery.

[1] *Tacitè etiam invitat per avaritiam, sciens illum ob partem regni promissam multa fecisse in gratiam Jugurthæ.*

[2] *Rhetoricè in fine promittit, et minatur.*

[3] *Intelligendum est, quod antequam, Jugurtha illi filiam suam aaret, motam fuisse litem de confinibus regni: et partem a Boccho invasam, illi pro dote ab Jugurtha concessam, propter Bellum quod a Romanis metuebat.*

[4] *S. animum Bocchi a bello divertere.*

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Bocchus once againe sendeth Ambassadors to Marius. 2. How intertained by Silla. 3. Sent to Rome, and there answered

BY this time Marius having quartered his souldiers in their Winter Garrisons, with part of his horsemen, and lightest Cohorts, he taketh his journey towardes the wildernesse, there to besiege the Kings Tower, in safegard whereof, Jugurth hath thrust in al the renegado fugitives.

Bocchus once againe sendeth Ambassadors to Marius

1. When againe, Bocchus either upon mature deliberation of what he had suffered at the handes of the Romans in two pitcht batailes; or accounselled by others of his friends, whose services were not obliged to the pensions of Jugurth, resolveth, out of the choise of variety, amongst al his kinsmen, to nominate five, upon whose assured fidelity and tried wisedome, hee durst adventure to repose his utmost confidence.

These he dispatcheth to Marius, and from him, if he so please, hee commaundeth to passe for Rome: with ample authority to compound all controversies; so uppon any tearmes, to put an end to the war; with exquisit diligence they take their way towardes the wintering places of the Romans: but being beset and robbed in their journy by certaine Getulian Outlawes, in fear and base estate, they make their repaire before Silla, whom Marius the Consull (being upon service) had left for his Lieutenant.

How intertained by Silla

2. According to desert, Silla entertaineth them as giddy headed fellowes, and enemies; but withall, did bountifully supply their hard misfortunes. In regard whereof, the Barbarians quite changed their pristinate conceites of the Roman Avarice, and that more is, acounted Silla, for his

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bounteous clemency, their especiall good Patron. For in these times few men knew what pensions meant: no man was deemed bountifull, unlesse it proceeded from meere good-wil. All giftes were accepted as remembraunces of love and kindnesse.

This done, they make relation of their Imbassie to Silla, and first beseech him in the businesse to stand their good friend and Counsellour. Then they fall into speech upon the strength, the integrity, and the majesty of their Maister, not omitting any title, that might either proove advantagious to the capitulation, or move good liking in the Lieutenant.

Silla made no scruple to satisfie their desires, and after he had given them instructions how they shuld cary their affaires before Marius, and how, before the Lordes of the Senat, he stayed them there about the space of forty daies.

Sent to Rome, and there answered

3. Marius, without speeding in his entended enterprise, returned to Cirtha: where having intelligence of the arrivall of the Embassadors, he commandeth both them and Silla, to dislodge from Utica, and to repaire unto Cirtha. The like commaundement is directed unto L. Bilienus the Prætor, and the residue of the Nobility.[1] In presence of whom he giveth audience to the Moorish Embassadors, and withall, his passe for their journey to Rome. During the time of which their absence, they intreat the Consull for a surcease from armes.

These passages were well approved by Silla, and some others: a few were of a more severe opinion; little (God knowes) experimented in human affaires, which beeing alwaies casuall and uncertaine, for the most part are counterchanged from better to worse.[2]

All which their petitions being granted, three of them take their journy towards Rome, in the company of C. Octavius Rufo, the Treasurer at Warre in Affrick. The other two returne backe to the King, who seemed very

[1] *Ex omni parte ubi hiberna egerint.*
Sen. *si miserum videris, hominem scias.*

well to like of the behaviour of the Consull, but especially of the curtesie and affection of Silla. CHAPTER XXXIV

At Rome after the Legates had submissively confessed the errours of their maister, as induced thereunto by the insinuation of Jugurth; the conclusion of their speech was knit up, with a desire to be received into the Roman aliance: Unto whome it was thus answered; That the Romanes could as well remember to requite curtesies, as to revenge wrongs: That the King, because hee shewed himselfe sorrowfull for his faults, was received into grace: As for friendship and alliance, they were to be vouchsafed onely upon merit.

CHAPTER XXXV

1. Silla is sent by Marius to capitulate with Bocchus. 2. Is in honour met upon the way by Volux, and by him accompanied to his Fathers Court, not without great mistrust of disloyalty

OF which determinations Bocchus having received intelligence, by Letters hee requesteth Marius, to send Silla unto him: with whom he meant to treat a finall composition of all difficulties. Silla is sent by Marius to capitulate with Bocchus

Silla is sent, guarded with a regiment of horse and foot, accompanied with their Slingers and Enginers. In like manner the Archers and the Italian Cohort, with theyr lightest Arms, for speed sake, were commanded to march. And the reason, why they journied, armed at no stronger proofe in their enemies country, was, for that the weapons of the Barbarians were light and voydable.

2. The fift day of the journy, Volux the son of Bocchus, uppon the suddaine sheweth himselfe in the open fielde, Is in honour met upon the way by Volux

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And by him accompanied to his Fathers Court, not without great mistrust of disloyalty

with a troope at most of one thousand horse: who riding uppon the spurre, and out of order to salute Silla, at first seemed unto him and the residue, to be more in number, as also to represent a kind of warlike distrust.

Whereupon, every man began to fall into ranke, to put on his Armour, to draw his Weapon, and to expect the enemy. The feare was indifferent; their hopes better resolved (as befalleth victours) and especially, because the fight was to be mannaged against those whome they had formerly so often vanquished.

But the horsemen being sent out to discover, brought word of the truth, and so all things were quieted.

Volux approaching, calleth unto the Quester, and certifieth him, that his father had sent him both to honour and assist him in his journey: So that day and the next, they both marched in one troope without distrust.

But after they had pitched their Tents, and. the day began now to close; the Moore all fearefull, with his colour going and comming, runneth towards Silla, and reporteth that he is assertained by his Discoverers, that Jugurth approached. And therefore intreateth; yea, and importunateth him secretly in the dead of the night to make shift for himselfe by speedy flight.

Silla all inraged, advowed that hee nothing feared the Numidian, whom hee had so often heeretofore rowted: That his resolution was setled upon the valour of his people: yea, if assured destruction lay before his face, That hee would abide by it, rather then betray the lives of so many souldiers committed unto his conduct by a base and unsure flight; to make spare of that fraile carcasse, which peradventure by casualty of sicknes, might soone afterwardes miscarry. But withall, followeth his Counsell to dislodge by night: and thereupon, commaundeth the army foorthwith to fall to Supper, to fill the Campe with fires, and at the first watch without noise or tumult to make ready to march.[1]

[1] *Ut hostes existi monet eos vigilias agere, et post decessum visis ignibus adhuc illic esse.*

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Now both Silla, and his troopes, beeing thoroughly wearied by this nights journey, with the rising of the sun pitcheth his Tents : when as the Moorish vant-currers bring worde to the Campe, that Jugurth hath taken up his lodgings scarce one league before them. Which news were no sooner divulged, but an unusuall feare attacked the whol body of our army, mistrusting that they had bin betrayed by Volux, and brought into ambush by his treachery : yea, there were some that advowed, that Death was his meed ; and that so manifest and notorious a Treason ought not to be suffered to escape unpunished.

Although Silla in secret did jumpe in Opinion, yet gave he commandement that no man should be so hardie as to wrong the Moore : but encorageth his people to cary a valiant conceit of the yssue. Putting them in mind, That a few couragious souldiers have heretofore happily encountred a tumultuary multitude, and that not seldome. The lesse spare any man made of his carcasse, the better he sped. That it beseemed not the armed hand to expect safety from the unarmed foot,[1] by turning the naked bodie at all adventures [2] through rash fear, from the face [3] of the enemy.

Then calling upon Jupiter Maxumus [4] to be a witnesse of the falshood and treachery of Bocchus, he commandeth Volux as an enemy to depart the campe. The yong Gentleman with teares in his eies, beseecheth the Generall not to give eare to such envious reportes : protesteth, that nothing was fraudulently contrived : but rather, that he should perswade himselfe, that all proceeded from the subtilty of Jugurth, by whose warie watchfulnesse the course of his journey was discovered. And the rather, for that he had neither forces sufficient, and all his welfare depended uppon his good carriage towards his father. More, that he would be fully possessed, that Jugurth durst not enterprize any

[1] *Abjectis armis.*
[2] *Non perspicient quo se præcipitet.*
[3] *Ut faciunt fugientes.*
[4] *Fidelitatis et hospitalitatis conservatorem.*

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open hostility against the Army, as long as hee his sonne was present as a witnes of the outrage.

And therefore to amove all mistrust, he supposeth it the best course, to passe in open sight through the middest of Jugurths campe; leaving it to the choise of the Generall whether he will place his Moores in front or in reare: hee himselfe is content without consort, to submit himselfe to Sillaes sole dispose.

The course proposed (as happeneth in like cases) is allowed: and the army forthwith moveth: The suddennes of the accident stroke Jugurth to his wits end, and so they passed in safety; within few daies after they arived at theyr intended Rende-vow.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. The irresolution of a barbarous enemy. 2. Jugurth betraied, and delivered captive to Silla

The irresolution of a barbarous enemy

AT that time there lived in the Court of Bocchus, a certaine Numidian called Aspar, a man in very gracious acceptance with his Majesty, whom Jugurth (hearing of the sending for of Silla to Court) had imployed as an Ambassadour, closely and cunningly to observe what passed in counsell. To him was adjoyned Dabar, the sonne of Massugrada, a kinsman of Massinissas, but not by the mother. For his father was begotten on a Concubine. This man for his many good services, was in high favour with Bocchus: and for the experience of his former fidelity, now made choice of to be forthwith sent unto Silla, to make demonstration, on his maisters behalfe; That Bocchus was ready to performe

whatsoever the Roman people should command him. That Silla should nominate the day, the place, and time for conference: That hee would hold good corespondency upon all ocasions. That he needed not to take any exceptions against the Ambassador of Jugurth, for that he had bin purposely sent for, the better to compound their common Controversies. For otherwise (he gave out) that hee [1] could not prevent the traines of Jugurth. CHAPTER XXXVI

But I am of Opinion, that with more then a Punique disloyalty, Bocchus entertained the treaty, both with the Romans and the Numidian for other respectes, then those which he publickely pretended. For it did much perplex his mind, whether he shuld deliver Jugurth to the Romans, or Silla to Jugurth. Hatred to us-ward was a potent enemy; Feare our friend.

Wherupon Silla replied, that he would speak to some few points in the presence of Aspar; [2] the residue privatly, or at least-wise not in the hearing of many. Likewise he maketh report, what answere he expected.

At their next meeting, being at Sillas own apointment, He saith, That being sent from Marius the Consull, hee was arrived in these parts to be ascertained from the Kings owne mouth, whether he were desirous of peace or war.[3]

Whereunto the king (as he had bin advised) made no other reply, but commanded him to make his appearance the tenth day after. That as yet he had not consulted with his Counsell: but upon that day he would not faile to resolve him. So each party retired to their Pavilions.

About midnight, Silla is secretly sent for by Bocchus: Faithfull trucemen are imployed on both sides, And Dabar the intercurrour, a very honest Gentleman sworne to both their good likings. Which ceremonies performed, the King thus began his Oration.

[1] *s. Bocchus.*
[2] *s. Coram Aspare.*
[3] *Per hoc consilium spes pacis datur Jugurthæ, et occasio Sillæ liberius de rebus suis consulendis.*

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Bocchus his Oration

My mind never gave me, that I in this world so powerful a Prince, (as of all men to my knowledge the most potent,) should at any time have stoode beholding to a private Gentleman. For in the word of a Prince, before I knew thee (O Silla) I have to some upon intreaty, unto others voluntarily, extended supplies; and never againe implored the assistance of any.

That the worlde is now changed, whereas Others grieve, I rejoyce. The gaine of thy acquaintance, hath with surplusage recompenced my losses: then the which my very soule accounteth nothing more indeared. Heerof make trial: Aske Arms, men, or money; yea, whatsoever thy fancy can affect, take it, use it. During thy life, never thinke but I will alwaies reckon my selfe thy debtor: in which account I will persever faithfull to the end. In a word, I will deny thee nothing that to my knowledge may pleasure thee. For my mind assureth me, that it is lesse dishonourable for a King to bee overcome by Armes, then by Bountie.

As concerning the businesse of your Common-wealth, whose Procurator you are, take this in briefe.

War against the Roman people I neither levied, nor suffered others to levie: I onelie opposed force against force. But I wil cease to beat upon that straine, because such is your pleasures: At your choise be it, what wars you thinke good to undertake against Jugurth: I will not passe the River Mulucha, (the bounder betweene me and Jugurth) neither wil I suffer Jugurth to passe beyond it. If you can thinke uppon anie thing besides, befitting your Honours and mine, spare not to speake; you shal not depart with repulse.

Silla made answere: for his particular, briefely and modestly: for the Peace and the Generall, he argued copiously. And at last he made it known to the King, that the Senate and people of Rome could not take it in good part, to be offred barely that, which by their superiority in

Arms, they alone were able to accomplish :[1] Somewhat else was to be performed, which might produce livelier arguments that he affected the Roman welfare, more then his private respects ;[2] considering the meanes were not farre to seeke, as long as Jugurth was at his dispose : whom if hee would surrender, then should the Romaine people infinitely account themselves bounde unto him. This good service would procure friendship, and aliance, yea and that part of Numidia which he now requested, would then come voluntarily offered unto him. At first the King denied, pleaded affinity, consanguinity, and lastly the breach of his league. Then pretended he feare, least by the falsifieing of his faith, hee shoulde divert the love of his people, unto whom Jugurth was very gracious, the Romans hatefull : Being over-wrought by importunacy, hee yeeldeth, and promiseth to dispatch businesses, according to the counsell of Silla. And so concluding upon all thinges to serve their owne turnes, they proceed to a counterfeit peace, whereof the Numidian (being weary of the warre) was most desirous. The plot thus layd, they take their leaves.

The day following, the king calleth for Asper, and willeth him to shew his maister, that Dabar had learned from Silla, that the warre might be compounded upon certaine conditions : And that withall he should provide to return an answere of his mind.

Aspar gladly taketh his journey towards the Campe of Jugurth : where being fully instructed of his maisters determinations, by poast at eight daies he returneth to Bocchus : and declareth, that Jugurth is ready to performe all commands, saving that hee durst not safely trust Marius. For (saith he) I have often made triall, that peace concluded with the Roman Generals, hath bin of no validity : But, if Bocchus desired to procure an assured and profitable peace for both their best securities, that then he should do his indevour, to appoint a generall assembly under the

[1] *s. se discedere ab armis, cum victus esset et rebus Jugurthæ diffiderit.*

[2] *Nam quod ab armis desistat, plus esset ad utilitatem Bocchi jam pene-victi, quam Romanorum.*

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pretext of peace, and there deliver Silla into his power When he had such a personage at his dispose, then might hee stande assured, that by speciall commandement from the Senate and Roman people, the league would be solemnly ratified: Neyther would they suffer a man of his quality (not captivated by his owne default, but in service of the State) to lie in durance under the enemies imprisonment.

The Moore stood long perplexed, but at last consented; whether in shew, or earnest, we could never learne certenly: but for the most part, as the determinations of kings are soddaine, so are they variable; yea many times repugnant.

After this, at the appointed time and place, under the colour of conference, Bocchus sometime sendeth for Silla, sometime for the Ambassadour of Jugurth. Hee sheweth himselfe alike gracious, and maketh to both one self-same promise; whereupon being full of hope, both of them depart with like satisfaction.

But the night preceding the day appointed for conference, the Moore sent for his friends, and presently changing his mind, dismissing them all, is reported to have bin infinitely disquieted in spirit. His countenance, his complexion, his bodily motion, and his very sences were marvelously distracted; which his onely carriage, even in his deepest silence, did bewray in manner of speech, the verie secrets of his hart.

Jugurth betraied, and delivered captive to Silla

2. Lastly, he sendeth for Silla, and by his direction layeth the plot to intrap Jugurth. The time being come, and hee ascertained that Jugurth approched, as it were for honors sake, accompanied with a few of his friends and the Questor, he goeth to meet him, and ascendeth an easie Hillock scituated to open viewe of an ambush: Thither likewise Jugurth with some fewe of his followers unarmed (according to agreement) advanced: where he was no sooner arrived, but the ambush breaking out on all sides, attack him: His companions are al cut in pieces, himself in bonds is delivered to Silla; and by him conducted to Marius.

About the same time, our Leaders, Q. Cepio and

C. Manlius, fought unfortunately against the Galles. With the terrour whereof al Italie stood amazed. So that both they and al the Roman posterity, even unto our daies, made this account: That all other enterprizes were possible to the Roman vertue; with the Galles only they contended for safety, not for glory.

But after the newes came, that the warre of Numidia was ended, and Jugurth approached to Rome-wardes in chaines, Marius (though absent) was ratified Consull, and Gallia alotted him for his province. Upon the Calendes of January (being Consul) he performed his Triumph with admirable glory. From that time, the hope and prosperity of the Citty wholy relyed upon him.

FINIS.

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